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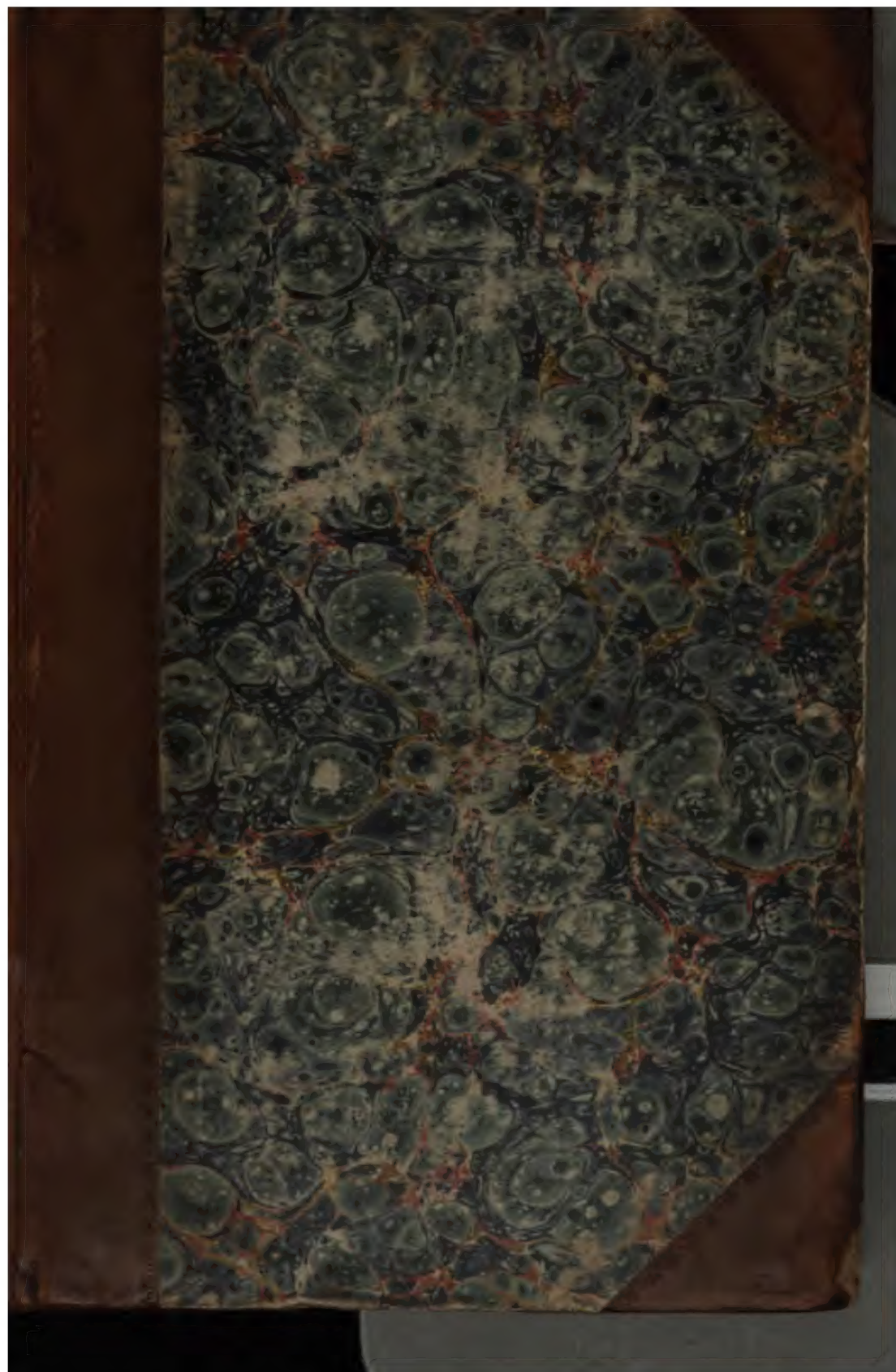
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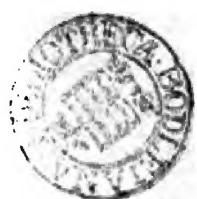


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JOSEPH HALL, D.D.

SUCCESSIVELY BISHOP OF EXETER AND NORWICH.

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BISHOP HALL, HIS LIFE AND TIMES:

OR,

MEMOIRS OF

THE LIFE, WRITINGS, AND SUFFERINGS, OF

THE RIGHT REV. JOSEPH HALL, D.D.

SUCCESSIVELY BISHOP OF EXETER AND NORWICH;

WITH

A VIEW OF THE TIMES IN WHICH HE LIVED;

AND AN APPENDIX,

**CONTAINING SOME OF HIS UNPUBLISHED WRITINGS,
HIS FUNERAL SERMON, &c.**

BY THE REV. JOHN JONES,

PERPETUAL CURATE OF CRADLEY, WORCESTERSHIRE.

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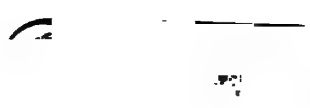
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P R E F A C E.

THE Author of this volume has endeavoured, as well as he could, to acquaint himself, with much labour and research, with the history of those eventful times in which the celebrated Bishop Hall lived, with the view of giving a full account of the life and sufferings of one of the most worthy of the sons of the Church of England, and a narrative of the principal events and transactions of that period. The aim of the author has been to give an impartial account of those times; but he found it often a very difficult matter to discriminate the truth among a mass of confused and contradictory account of writers biassed and influenced by prejudice, faction, or party spirit.

The author is far from vindicating the arbitrary power and the violent measures employed and adopted by the rulers of church and state, to promote their religious or secular ends in those times; and he is bold also to affirm, that the persecuting, violent, and unchristian conduct, and evil practices of some of those called Puritans, of the Presbyterians and Independents, when they got the power in their own hands, have left upon them such an indelible stigma, as will never be forgotten.

Bishop Hall has left us a brief account of his own life and sufferings; but because of his great modesty, he has touched but slightly on some most interesting incidents; the author has therefore endeavoured, from other authentic sources, to give, in the following Memoirs, a more copious detail; leaving, however, the good old Bishop, as much as possible, to be his own biographer. His life, which was long and useful, is replete with impor-

tant incidents, which will always prove interesting and instructive to all future generations.

In every period of the Christian Church, there have been some eminent characters endued with primitive simplicity and genuine excellence; among these we may most justly class the good, the pious, and the learned subject of the following Memoirs. His devotedness to the service of his divine Master, his great humility and patience under all his sufferings, were distinguishing traits in his character. The character given us of St. Augustin, may, with the greatest propriety, be applied to Bishop Hall: *Insignis erat sanctissimi præsulis mansuetudo, ac miranda animi lenitas, et quædam invincibilis clementia.*

In the Appendix to this volume there will be found some unpublished pieces of Bishop Hall, particularly his Letters to Archbishop Usher and others, and his Latin Sermon before the Synod of Dort; which, it is hoped, will prove very acceptable to all who possess the last edition of his Works. Whitefoot's Funeral Sermon, inserted in the Appendix, is also not only of rare occurrence, but is highly valuable and interesting, as containing some striking particulars in the life of the Bishop.

The author earnestly hopes that this volume may prove a profitable addition to the large mass of biography of good and excellent personages already before the public, as well as instructive and edifying to every Christian reader; and it is his sincere prayer that all the sons of the Church may imitate the example of Bishop Hall,—follow him as he followed Christ,—live above this vain and troublesome world,—bear with patience all the trials and sufferings of this mortal life,—and continually “mind eternity.” *

Cradley, Worcestershire,
Oct. 4, 1825.

* See Inscriptions on Bishop Hall's Monument, and of Mrs. Hall, pp. 419, 420.

BISHOP HALL,

HIS LIFE AND TIMES.

CHAPTER I.

IF the memory of the wise, the pious, and the good is blessed, and should be preserved and illustrated for the advantage and improvement of future ages; the name of **JOSEPH HALL**, successively Bishop of Exeter and Norwich, ought undoubtedly to be held in perpetual remembrance. Few, if any, of the fathers of the Church of England, have left behind them more lasting or exemplary proofs of learning, piety, and unwearied labours in the cause of truth. The purity of his life, the fervor of his charity, and the variety and importance of his theological writings, have ranked him among the brightest ornaments of the church. He was indeed a star of the first magnitude, alike admirable and eminent as an author, as an advocate of the church, and as a christian pastor and bishop of primitive simplicity and piety.

As Bishop Hall has left a brief account of his life, under the title of "Observations of some Specialities of Divine Providence in the Life of Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, written with his own hand," it appears advisable to adopt the whole of this narrative into the present Memoir, only pausing occasionally to introduce such other incidents and details as other and equally authentic accounts may furnish.

The Bishop thus commences the Memoirs of himself.

"NOT out of a vain affectation of my own glory, which I know how little it can avail me when I am gone hence; but out of a sincere desire to give glory to my God, whose wonderful providence I have noted in all my ways, have I recorded some remarkable passage of my fore-past life. What I have done is worthy of nothing but silence and forgetfulness; but what God hath done for me, is worthy of everlasting and thankful memory.

"I was born July 1, 1574, at five of the clock in the morning, in Bristow-Park, within the parish of Ashby de la Zouch, a town in Leicestershire, of honest and well-allowed parentage.

"My father was an officer under that truly honorable and religious Henry Earl of Huntingdon, President of the North; and, under him,

had the government of that market-town, wherein the chief seat of that earldom is placed.

“ My mother Winifride, of the house of the Bamberges, was a woman of that rare sanctity, that, were it not for my interest in nature, I durst say, that neither Aleth the mother of that just Honor of Clareval, nor Monica, nor any other of those pious matrons anciently famous for devotion, need to disdain her admittance to comparison. She was continually exercised with the afflictions of a weak body, and oft of a wounded spirit: the agonies whereof, as she would oft recount with much passion, professing that the greatest bodily sicknesses were but flea-bites to those scorpions; so, from them all, at last she found a happy and comfortable deliverance. And that, not without a more than ordinary hand of God: for, on a time, being in great distress of conscience, she thought in her dream, there stood by her a grave personage, in the gown and other habits of a physician; who, inquiring of her estate, and receiving a sad and querulous answer from her, took her by the hand, and bade her be of good comfort, for this should be the last fit that ever she should feel of this kind; whereto she seemed to answer, that, on that condition, she could well be content for the time, with that or any other torment; reply was made to her, as she thought, with a redoubled assurance of that happy issue of this her last trial;

whereat she began to conceive an unspeakable joy; which yet, on her awaking, left her more disconsolate, as then conceiting her happiness imaginary, her misery real; when, the very same day, she was visited by the reverend and (in his time) famous divine, Mr. Anthony Gilby,* under whose ministry she lived; who, upon the relation of this her pleasing vision and the contrary effects it had in her, began to persuade her, that dream was no other than divine, and that she had good reason to think that gracious premonition was sent her from God himself: who, though ordinarily he keeps the common road of his proceedings, yet, sometimes, in the distresses of his servants, he goes unusual ways to their relief: hereupon she began to take heart; and, by good counsel and her fervent prayers, found that happy prediction verified to her; and, upon all occasions in the remainder of her life, was ready to magnify the mercy of her God in so sensible a deliverance. What with the trial of both these hands of God, so had she profited in the school of Christ, that it was hard for any friend to come from her discourse no whit holier. How often have I blessed the memory of those divine passages of experimental

* He was a pious and zealous Non-conformist; and was profoundly learned in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. He was patronized by the Earl of Huntingdon, and was presented to the Vicarage of Ashby de la Zouch.

divinity, which I have heard from her mouth! What day did she pass, without a large task of private devotion? whence she would still come forth, with a countenance of undissembled mortification. Never any lips have read to me such feeling lectures of piety: neither have I known any soul that more accurately practised them than her own. Temptations, desertions, and spiritual comforts, were her usual theme. Shortly, for I can hardly take off my pen from so exemplary a subject, her life and death were saint-like.*

“ My parents had, from mine infancy, devoted me to this sacred calling, whereto, by the blessing of God, I have seasonably attained. For this cause, I was trained up in the public school of the place.

“ After I had spent some years, not altogether

* It is singular and remarkable that many of those divines, who have proved most eminent for their piety and usefulness, have, in a particular manner, experienced the benefit of parental instruction; and especially have imbibed religious principles from the piety and example of their mothers. Dr. Doddridge, before he was able to read, was instructed by his mother, in the histories of the Old and New Testament, by the assistance of some dutch tiles in the chimney of the room, where they usually sat. The names of Augustin, Hooker, Newton, Cecil, Buchanan, and Dwight, are here enumerated as instances of the happy and blessed effects of parental instruction in religion. This should encourage parents to bring up their children in *the nurture and admonition of the Lord*. Though the instructions and pious examples of parents may not always seem to have immediate effect upon their children; yet the means should be used, and the most untoward may, through the divine blessing, be brought to the knowledge of the truth: for this is a course which has been so often crowned with success, and which is seldom or

indiligently, under the ferule of such masters as the place afforded, and had near attained to some competent ripeness for the university, my schoolmaster being a great admirer of one Mr. Pelset, who was then lately come from Cambridge to be the public preacher of Leicester (a man very eminent in those times, for the fame of his learning, but especially for his sacred oratory), persuaded my father, that if I might have my education under so excellent and complete a divine, it might be both a nearer and easier way to his purposed end, than by an academical institution. The motion sounded well in my father's ears, and carried fair probabilities: neither was it other than fore-compacted betwixt my schoolmaster and Mr. Pelset; so as, on both sides, it was entertained with great forwardness.

"The gentleman, upon essay taken of my fitness for the use of his studies, undertakes within one seven years to send me forth, no less furnished with arts, languages, and grounds of theoretical

never perhaps altogether in vain. "It is evident, that the pious endeavours of Lois and Eunice, in bringing young Timothy acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, laid the foundation of all his subsequent eminence and usefulness, in which he was inferior to none but the Apostles. It is probable, that, while they were teaching the child to read, and treasure up in his memory *the oracles of God*, they little thought what a harvest, in future life, would spring from the seed thus sown. But the Scripture warrants high expectations in this respect." See Memoir of Rev. Jeremiah Newell, annexed to his Funeral Sermon, by the late Rev. Thomas Scott.

divinity, than the carefulest tutor in the strictest college of either university. Which that he might assuredly perform, to prevent the danger of any mutable thoughts in my parents or myself, he desired mutual bonds to be drawn betwixt us. The great charge of my father, whom it pleased God to bless with twelve children, made him the more apt to yield to so likely a project for a younger son.

“There and now were all the hopes of my future life on blasting. The indentures were preparing: the time was set: my suits were addressed for the journey.

“What was the issue? O God, thy providence made and found it. Thou knowest how sincerely and heartily, in those my young years,* I did cast myself on thy hands: with what faithful resolution I did, in this particular occasion, resign myself over to thy disposition; earnestly begging of thee in my fervent prayers to order all things to the best, and confidently waiting upon thy will for the event. Certainly, never did I, in all my life, more clearly roll myself upon the Divine Providence, than I did in this business. And it succeeded accordingly.

“It fell out in this time that my elder brother, having some occasions to journey unto Cambridge,

* Anno ætatis 15.

was kindly entertained there by Mr. Nath. Gilby, fellow of Emanuel college: who, for that he was born in the same town with me, and had conceived some good opinion of my aptness to learning, inquired diligently concerning me; and hearing of the diversion of my father's purposes from the university, importunately dissuaded from that new course, professing to pity the loss of so good hopes. My brother, partly moved with his words, and partly won by his own eyes, to a great love and reverence of an academical life, returning home, fell on his knees to my father; and, after the report of Mr. Gilby's words and his own admiration of the place, earnestly besought him, that he would be pleased to alter that so prejudicial a resolution, that he would not suffer my hopes to be drowned in a shallow country channel; but that he would revive his first purposes for Cambridge; adding, in the zeal of his love, that if the chargeableness of that course were the hinderance, he did there humbly beseech him rather to sell some part of that land, which himself should in course of nature inherit, than to abridge me of that happy means to perfect my education. No sooner had he spoken those words, than my father no less passionately condescended; not without a vehement protestation, that, whatsoever it might cost him, I should, God willing, be sent to the university. Neither were those words sooner out of his lips,

than there was a messenger from Mr. Pelset knocking at the door, to call me to that fairer bondage; signifying, that the next day he expected me, with a full dispatch of all that business: to whom my father replied, that he came some minutes too late, that he had now otherwise determined of me; and, with a respective message of thanks to the master, sent the man home empty, leaving me full of the tears of joy for so happy a change.

“Indeed I had been but lost, if that project had succeeded; as it well appeared in the experience of him who succeeded in that room, which was by me thus unexpectedly forsaken.

“O God, how was I then taken up with a thankful acknowledgment and joyful admiration of thy gracious providence over me!

“And now I lived in the expectation of Cambridge; whither, ere long, I happily came, under Mr. Gilby’s tuition, together with my worthy friend Mr. Hugh Cholmley, who, as we had been partners of one lesson from our cradles, so were we now for many years partners of one bed.*

“My two first years were necessarily chargeable above the proportion of my father’s power; whose not very large cistern was to feed many pipes besides mine. His weariness of expense

* See Bishop Hall’s Works, vol. ix, p 333.

was wrought upon by the counsel of some unwise friends, who persuaded him to fasten me upon that school as master, whereof I was lately a scholar.

“Now was I fetched home with a heavy heart: and now, this second time, had mine hopes been nipped in the blossom, had not God raised me up an unhopcd benefactor, Mr. Edmund Sleigh of Derby, (whose pious memory I have cause ever to love and reverence), out of no other relation to me, save that he married my aunt. Pitying my too apparent dejectedness, he voluntarily urged and solicited my father for my return to the university; and offered freely to contribute the one half of my maintenance there, till I should attain to the degree of master of arts; which he no less really and lovingly performed. The condition was gladly accepted.

“Thither was I sent back, with joy enough; and, ere long, chosen scholar of that strict and well-ordered college.

“By that time I had spent six years there, now the third year of my bachelorship should at once both make an end of my maintenance, and in respect of standing give me a capacity of further preferment in that house, were it not that my country excluded me: for our statute allowed but one of a shire to be fellow there; and, my tutor being of the same town with me, must therefore necessarily hold me out.

“ But, O my God, how strangely did thy gracious providence fetch this business about ! I was now entertaining motions of remove.

“ A place was offered me in the island of Guernsey, which I had in speech and chase. It fell out, that the father of my loving chamberfellow, Mr. Cholmley, a gentleman that had likewise dependence upon the most noble Henry Earl of Huntingdon, having occasion to go to York, unto that his honorable lord, fell into some mention of me. That good Earl, who well esteemed my father's service, having belikely heard some better words of me than I could deserve, made earnest inquiry after me, what were my courses, what my hopes : and, hearing of the likelihood of my removal, professed much dislike of it ; not without some vehemence, demanding why I was not chosen fellow of that college, wherein by report I received such approbation. Answer was returned, that my country debarred me ; which, being filled with my tutor, whom his Lordship well knew, could not by the statute admit a second. The Earl presently replied, that, if that were the hinderance, he would soon take order to remove it. Whereupon his Lordship presently sends for my tutor Mr. Gilby unto York ; and, with profer of large conditions of the chaplainship in his house, and assured promises of better provisions, drew him to relinquish his place in the college to a free election. No sooner was his assent signified,

than the days were set for the public (and indeed exquisite) examination of the competitors. By that time two days of the three allotted to this trial were past, certain news came to us of the unexpected death of that incomparably religious and noble Earl of Huntingdon; by whose loss my then disappointed tutor must necessarily be left to the wide world unprovided for. Upon notice thereof, I presently repaired to the master of the college, Mr. Dr. Chaderton;* and besought him to tender that hard condition to which my good tutor must needs be driven, if the election proceeded; to stay any further progress in that business; and to leave me to my own good hopes wheresoever, whose youth exposed me both to less needs, and more opportunities of provision. Answer was made me, that the place was pronounced void however; and, therefore, that my tutor was divested of all possibility of remedy, and must wait upon the providence of God for his disposing elsewhere, and the election must necessarily proceed the day following. Then was I, with a cheerful unanimity, chosen into that society; which if it had any equals, I dare say had none beyond it, for good order, studious carriage, strict government, austere piety: in

* He was the first Master of Emanuel College; was for many years Lecturer at St. Clement's in Cambridge, with great profit to his auditors; and was one of the translators of the Bible.

which I spent six or seven years more, with such contentment, as the rest of my life hath in vain striven to yield.

“Now was I called to public disputations often, with no ill success: for never durst I appear in any of those exercises of scholarship, till I had from my knees looked up to heaven for a blessing, and renewed my actual dependence upon that divine hand.

“In this while, two years together was I chosen to the rhetoric lecture in the public schools; where I was encouraged with a sufficient frequency of auditors: but, finding that well-applauded work somewhat out of my way, not without a secret blame of myself for so much excursion, I fairly gave up that task, in the midst of those poor acclamations, to a worthy successor, Mr. Dr. Dod; and betook myself to those serious studies, which might fit me for that high calling whereunto I was destined.*”

During his residence in the University, he studied so intensely, that it appears from a letter of

* Fuller says in his “Worthies of England,” that “he passed all his degrees with great applause. First, noted in the University, for his ingenious maintaining (be it *Truth*, or *Paradox*,) that *Mundus senescit*, “The world groweth old.” Yet, in some sort, his position confuteth his position, the wit and quickness whereof did argue an increase rather than a decay of parts in this latter age.”

his to Mr. Hugh Cholmley, who had been his school-fellow, and was also his intimate friend in the same college, his friends were dissuading him from immoderate study. "I have," says he, "a body, that controls me enough in these courses; my friends need not. There is nothing whereof I could sooner surfeit, if I durst neglect my body, to satisfy my mind: but, while I affect knowledge, my weakness checks me, and says, 'Better a little learning, than no health.' I yield, and patiently abide myself debarred of my chosen felicity."

"Wherein" (he continues his narrative) "after I had carefully bestowed myself for a time, I took the boldness to enter into sacred orders: the honor whereof having once attained, I was no niggard of that talent which my God had intrusted to me; preaching often, as occasion was offered, both in country villages abroad, and at home in the most awful auditory of the university.

"And now I did but wait where and how it would please my God to employ me."*

* He had resided at College, in the whole, about thirteen years. He was presented to Hatfield in the year 1601.

CHAPTER II.

THE Bishop continues his narrative.—“There was at that time a famous school erected at Tiverton in Devon, and endowed with a very large pension; whose goodly fabric was answerable to the reported maintenance: the care whereof was, by the rich and bountiful founder, Mr. Blundel,* cast principally on the then Lord Chief Justice Popham. That faithful observer, having great interest in the master of our house, Dr. Chaderton, moved him earnestly to commend some able, learned, and discreet governor to that weighty charge; whose action should not need to be so much as his oversight. It pleased our master, out of his good opinion, to tender this

* Peter Blundel, a native and clothier of that town, founded and endowed this school, which is a great ornament to the place. He appointed a feast to be kept annually on St. Peter's day in commemoration of him, for which he left a liberal allowance. He also founded two fellowships and two scholarships in Sidney College, Cambridge, and one fellowship and two scholarships in Baliol College, Oxford, for the scholars educated in this school.

condition unto me: assuring me of no small advantages, and no great toil; since it was intended the main load of the work should lie upon other shoulders. I apprehended the motion worth the entertaining. In that severe society our times were stinted: neither was it wise or safe to refuse good offers. Mr. Dr. Chaderton carried me to London; and there presented me to the Lord Chief Justice, with much testimony of approbation. The Judge seemed well apaid with the choice. I promised acceptance; he, the strength of his favor. No sooner had I parted from the Judge, than, in the street, a messenger presented me with a letter, from the right virtuous and worthy lady, of dear and happy memory, the Lady Drury of Suffolk, tendering the rectory of her Halsted, then newly void, and very earnestly desiring me to accept of it. Dr. Chaderton, observing in me some change of countenance, asked me what the matter might be. I told him the errand, and delivered him the letter; beseeching his advice: which when he had read, 'Sir, quoth I, 'methinks God pulls me by the sleeve; and tells me it is his will, I should rather go to the east than to the west.' 'Nay,' he answered, 'I should rather think that God would have you go westward, for that he hath contrived your engagement before the tender of this letter; which therefore coming too late, may receive a fair and easy

answer." To this I besought him to pardon my dissent; adding, that I well knew, that divinity was the end whereto I was destined by my parents; which I had so constantly proposed to myself, that I never meant other, than to pass through this western school to it: but I saw that God who found me ready to go the further way about, now called me the nearest and directest way to that sacred end. The good man could no further oppose; but only pleaded the distaste which would hereupon be justly taken by the Lord Chief Justice, whom I undertook fully to satisfy: which I did with no great difficulty; commending to his Lordship, in my room, my old friend and chamber-fellow Mr. Cholmley: who finding an answerable acceptance, disposed himself to the place; so as we two, who came together to the university, now must leave it at once.*

* See Sir John Cullum's History of the parishes of Hawsted and Hardwick, second edition, p. 68, in the list of Rectors, "2 Dec. 1601. Joseph Hall, A. M. ad pres Rob. Drury, mil."

Sir Robert Drury was the son of Sir William Drury, who was in 1589 killed in a duel in France: "even before he was out of mourning for his father, he attended the Earl of Essex to the unsuccessful siege of Rohan, in 1591, where he was knighted, when he could not exceed the age of fourteen years." Sir J. Cullum's History of Hawsted and Hardwick, pp. 168, 170. The family of Drury, which signifies in old English, *a precious Jewel*, has been of great reputation at Halsted and elsewhere, more especially since they were married with the heiress of Fresil of Sexham.—See Camden's Britannia, p. 370. Ed. 1695.

" Having then fixed my foot at Halsted, I found there a danger opposite to the success of my ministry, a witty and bold atheist, one Mr. Lilly;* who by reason of his travails, and abilities of

* Probably this Mr. Lilly was John Lilly, a dramatic writer, born in Kent in 1553. At sixteen years of age, he became a member of Magdalen College, Oxford; in 1573 he took the degree of Bachelor, and that of Master of Arts in 1575-6. He seems afterwards to have travelled; he published a celebrated work, entitled "Euphues, or, the Anatomy of Wit." It is ascertained by his verses prefixed to a book entitled "Christian Passions," by H. Lok, published in 1597, that Lilly was then living. The exact time of his death is not known, but it probably happened soon after the year 1600. No particulars of his person, or private life, have come down to us, except that he was married; that he was a little man, and a great taker of tobacco. His dramatic writings abound with perpetual allusions to a kind of fabulous natural history, in which he, and some of his contemporaries frequently indulged themselves, and for which he has been justly censured by Drayton and others. "Lilly, when at Oxford, was so much distinguished for his wit and vivacity, that one of his adversaries endeavoured to depreciate him on this ground, as if his spriteliness and humour were greater than became a scholar."

It is therefore highly probable that this Lilly was the identical adversary of Hall; *his abilities of discourse, his wit*, "his fabulous natural history," and perhaps other profane writings, might give occasion to Hall to call him "a witty and bold atheist." The want of a knowledge of his fate bespeaks him the same person; Hall in his "account of himself," says, "this malicious man going hastily up to London to exasperate my patron against me, was then and there swept away by the pestilence, and never returned to do any farther mischief." His being patronized by Sir R. Drury, the patron of poets and wits, is another strong circumstance to identify him as the very person mentioned by Hall. The learned and witty Dr. Donne was patronized by him; to whom and his family, apartments were assigned in Sir R. Drury's large house in Drury Lane. See Sir J. Cullum's History of Hawsted, p. 170.

discourse and behaviour, had so deeply insinuated himself into my patron, Sir Robert Drury, that there was small hopes, during his entireness, for me to work any good upon that noble patron of mine; who, by the suggestion of this wicked detractor, was set off from me before he knew me. Hereupon, I confess, finding the obduredness and hopeless condition of that man I bent my prayers against him; beseeching God daily, that he would be pleased to remove, by some means or other, that apparent hinderance of my faithful labors: who gave me an answer accordingly; for this malicious man, going hastily up to London to exasperate my patron against me, was then and there swept away by the pestilence, and never returned to do any farther mischief. Now the coast was clear before me; and I gained every day of the good opinion and favourable respects of that honourable gentleman and my worthy neighbors.

“ Being now therefore settled in that sweet and civil country of Suffolk, near to St. Edmund’s-Bury, my first work was to build up my house, which was then extremely ruinous.

“ Which done, the uncouth solitariness of my life, and the extreme incommodity of that single housekeeping, drew my thoughts, after two years, to condescend to the necessity of a married estate, which God no less strangely provided for

me; for, walking from the church on Monday in the Whitsun-week, with a grave and reverend minister, Mr. Grandidge, I saw a comely and modest gentlewoman standing at the door of that house where we were invited to a wedding-dinner; and, inquiring of that worthy friend whether he knew her, 'Yes,' quoth he, 'I know her well, and have bespoken her for your wife.' When I further demanded an account of that answer, he told me she was the daughter of a gentleman whom he much respected, Mr. George Winniff of Bretenham; that, out of an opinion had of the fitness of that match for me, he had already treated with her father about it, whom he found very apt to entertain it; advising me not to neglect the opportunity, and not concealing the just praises of the modesty, piety, good disposition, and other virtues, that were lodged in that seemly presence. I listened to the motion, as sent from God; and, at last, upon due prosecution, happily prevailed; enjoying the comfortable society of that meet help for the space of forty-nine years."

Bishop Hall had many children; his eldest son Robert was christened at Halsted, 26th Dec. 1605, and was educated at Exeter College, Oxford. March 4, 1628, he was collated to a prebend in the Cathedral of Exeter, was Rector

of Stokeintinny, Devon, which he resigned, and to which his brother, Samuel Hall, succeeded. He was a great sufferer in the time of the usurpation, but at the restoration, he was repossessed of his preferments. He was a learned man, a constant preacher, and very hospitable and pious. The other son, the Rev. Samuel Hall, towards the end of the year 1640, was a prebendary of Exeter, he suffered during the usurpation, and died in the year 1674. Another of his sons was the Rev. George Hall, born at Waltham in Essex, when his father was the incumbent there; he was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, of which he became a fellow, and to which he was a considerable benefactor at his death. Dec. 23, 1639, he was made prebendary of Exeter, and Oct. 8, 1641, was made Archdeacon of Cornwall, on the resignation of his eldest brother. After the restoration, he was made Chaplain to Charles II, Canon of Windsor, Archdeacon of Canterbury; and in 1662, he was promoted to the See of Chester. He died Aug. 23, 1668.* The cause of his death was rather singular; he was killed by a knife which happened to be open in his pocket, when he fell in his garden at Wigan.

The following anecdote respecting his large family of children, his remarks, and parental

* Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, part II. pp. 25-27.

affection, are highly interesting: "I remember," says he, "a great man coming to my house at Waltham, and seeing all my children standing in the order of their age and stature, said, 'These are they that make rich men poor,' but he straight received this answer; 'Nay, my Lord, these are they, that make a poor man rich; for there is not one of these, whom we would part with for all your wealth.' Then he remarks; "it is easy to observe, that none are so gripple and hard fisted, as the childless: whereas those, who, for the maintenance of large families, are inured to frequent disbursements, find such experience of Divine Providence in the faithful managing of their affairs, as that they lay out with more cheerfulness than they receive. Wherein their care must be abated, when God takes it off from them to himself; and, if they be not wanting to themselves, their faith gives them ease, in casting their burden upon him, who hath both more power and more right to it, since our children are more his than our own. He that feedeth the *young ravens*, Ps. cxlvii, 9. can he fail the best of his creatures?"

"Worthy Master Greenham tells us of a gentlewoman, who coming into the cottage of a poor neighbour, and seeing it furnished with store of children, could say, Here are the mouths, but where is the meat? but, not long after, she was paid in her own coin: for the poor woman, coming

to her after the burial of her last and now only child, inverted the question upon her, 'Here is the meat, but where are the mouths?' *

The Bishop continues.—“I had not passed two years in this estate, when my noble friend, Sir Edmund Bacon, with whom I had much entireness, came to me; and earnestly solicited me for my company in a journey, by him projected to the Spa in Ardenna: laying before me the safety, the easiness, the pleasure, and the benefit, of that small extravagance, if opportunity were taken of that time, when the Earl of Hertford passed in embassy to the Archduke Albert of Brussels. I soon yielded; as for the reasons by him urged, so especially for the great desire I had to inform myself ocularly of the state and practice of the Romish church; the knowledge whereof might be of no small use to me in my holy station.

“Having, therefore, taken careful order for the supply of my charge, with the assent and good allowance of my nearest friends, I entered into this secret voyage.

“We waited some days at Harwich for a wind; which we hoped might waft us over to Dunkirk, where our Ambassador had lately landed: but, at last, having spent a day and half a night at sea,

* Bishop Hall's Works, vol. viii, p. 177.

we were forced, for want of favor from the wind, to put in at Queenborough: from whence coasting over the rich and pleasant country of Kent, we renewed our shipping at Dover; and, soon landing at Calais, we passed after two days by waggon to the strong towns of Gravelines and Dunkirk: where I could not but find much horror in myself to pass under those dark and dreadful prisons, where so many brave Englishmen had breathed out their souls in a miserable captivity. From thence we passed through Winnoxberg, Ypres, Ghent, Courtray, to Brussels; where the Ambassador had newly sat down before us.

“That noble gentleman, in whose company I travelled, was welcomed with many kind visitations. Amongst the rest, there came to him an English gentleman, who, having run himself out of breath in the inns of court, had forsaken his country, and therewith his religion; and was turned both bigot and physician, residing now in Brussels. This man, after few interchanges of compliment with Sir Edmund Bacon, fell into a hyperbolical predication of the wonderful miracles done newly by our Lady at Zichem, or Sherpen-Heavell, that is Sharp-Hill, by Lipsius Apri-collis: the credit whereof when that worthy knight wittily questioned, he avowed a particular miracle of cure wrought by her on himself. I,

coming into the room in the midst of this discourse, habited not like a divine but in such color and fashion as might best secure my travel, and hearing my countryman's zealous and confident relations, at last asked him this question: 'Sir,' quoth I, put case this report of yours be granted for true, I beseech you teach me what difference there is, betwixt these miracles which you say are wrought by this lady, and those which were wrought by Vespasian, by some vestals, by charms, and spells; the rather, for that I have noted, in the late published report of these miracles, some patients prescribed to come on a Friday, and some to wash in such a well before their approach, and divers other such charm-like observations.' The gentleman, not expecting such a question from me, answered, 'Sir, I do not profess this kind of scholarship; but we have in the city many famous divines, with whom if it would please you to confer, you might sooner receive satisfaction.' I asked him whom he took for the most eminent divine of that place. He named to me Father Costerus: undertaking that he would be very glad to give me conference, if I would be pleased to come up to the Jesuits' college. I willingly yielded. In the afternoon, the forward gentleman prevented his time to attend me to the Father, as he styled him; who, as he said, was ready to entertain me

with a meeting. I went alone up with him. The porter, shutting the door after me, welcomed me with a *Deo gratias*. I had not staid long in the Jesuits' hall, before Costerus came in to me: who, after a friendly salutation, fell into a formal speech of the unity of that church, out of which is no salvation: and had proceeded to lose his breath and labor, had not I, as civilly as I might, interrupted him with this short answer: 'Sir, I beseech you mistake me not. My nation tells you of what religion I am. I come not hither, out of any doubt of my professed belief, or any purpose to change it; but, moving a question to this gentleman concerning the pretended miracles of the time, he pleased to refer me to yourself for my answer: which motion of his I was the more willing to embrace, for the fame that I have heard of your learning and worth: and, if you can give me satisfaction herein, I am ready to receive it.' Hereon we settled to our places, at a table in the end of the hall; and buckled to a further discourse. He fell into a poor and unperfect account of the difference of divine miracles and diabolical; which I modestly refuted. From thence he slipped into a cholerick invective against our church, which, as he said, could not yield one miracle; and when I answered, that, in our church, we had manifest proofs of the ejection of devils by fasting and

prayer, he answered, that, if it could be proved, that ever any devil was dispossessed in our church, he would quit his religion. Many questions were incidently traversed by us, wherein I found no satisfaction given me. The conference was long and vehement: in the heat whereof, who should come in but Father Baldwin, an English Jesuit, known to me, as by face (after I came to Brussels) so much more by fame. He sat down on a bench, at the further end of the table, and heard no small part of our dissertation; seeming not too well apaid, that a gentleman of his nation (for still I was spoken to in that habit, by the style of *Dominatio vestra*) should depart from the Jesuits' college no better satisfied. On the next morning, therefore, he sends the same English physician to my lodging, with a courteous compellation; professing to take it unkindly, that his countryman should make choice of any other to confer with than himself, who desired both mine acquaintance and full satisfaction. Sir Edmund Bacon, in whose hearing the message was delivered, gave me secret signs of his utter unwillingness to give way to my further conferences: the issue whereof, since we were to pass further and beyond the bounds of that protection, might prove dangerous. I returned a mannerly answer of thanks to F. Baldwin; but, for any further conference, that

it were bootless. I could not hope to convert him, and was resolved he should not alter me; and, therefore, both of us should rest where we were.

“ Departing from Brussels, we were for Namur and Liege. In the way we found the good hand of God, in delivering us from the danger of freebooters; and of a nightly entrance, amidst a suspicious convoy, into that bloody city.

“ Thence we came to the Spadane Waters; where I had good leisure to add a second Century of Meditations to those I had published before my journey.

“ After we had spent a just time at those medicinal wells, we returned to Liege; and, in our passage up the river Mosa, I had a dangerous conflict with a Sorbonist, a prior of the Carmelites, who took occasion, by our kneeling at the receipt of the Eucharist, to persuade all the company of our acknowledgment of a transubstantiation. I satisfied the cavil; showing on what ground this meet posture obtained with us. The man grew furious upon his conviction; and his vehement associates began to join with him, in a right-down railing upon our church and religion. I told them they knew where they were: for me, I had taken notice of the security of their laws, inhibiting any argument held against their religion established, and therefore stood only on

my defence; not casting any aspersion on theirs, but ready to maintain our own: which though I performed in as fair terms as I might, yet the choler of those zealots was so moved, that the paleness of their changed countenances began to threaten some perilous issue, had not Sir Edmund Bacon, both by his eye and by his tongue, wisely taken me off. I subduced myself speedily from their presence, to avoid further provocation. The Prior began to bewray some suspicions of my borrowed habit; and told them that himself had a green satin suit once prepared for his travels into England: so as I found it needful for me to lie close at Namur.

“ From whence travelling the next day towards Brussels in the company of two Italian captains, Signior Ascanio Negro, and another whose name I have forgotten: who, inquiring into our nation and religion, wondered to hear that we had any baptism or churches in England; the congruity of my Latin, in respect of their perfect barbarism, drew me and the rest into their suspicion: so as I might overhear them muttering to each other, that we were not the men we appeared. Straight the one of them boldly expressed his conceit; and, together with this charge, began to inquire of our condition. I told him, that the gentleman he saw before us was the grandchild of that renowned Bacon, the great chancellor of England,

a man of great birth and quality; and that myself and my other companion travelled in his attendance to the Spa, from the train and under the privilege of our late ambassador: with which just answer I stopped their mouths.

“Returning through Brussels, we came down to Antwerp, the paragon of cities: where my curiosity to see a solemn procession on St. John Baptist’s day might have drawn me into danger, through my willing unreverence, had not the bulk of a tall Brabanter, behind whom I stood in a corner of the street, shadowed me from notice.

“Thence, down the fair river of Scheldt, we came to Flushing: where, on the resolution of our company to stay some hours, I hasted to Middleburgh, to see an ancient colleague. That visit lost me my passage. Ere I could return, I might see our ship under sail for England. The master had with the wind altered his purpose; and called aboard with such eagerness, that my company must either away, or undergo the hazard of too much loss. I looked long after them in vain; and, sadly returning to Middleburgh, waited long, for an inconvenient and tempestuous passage.”

The following account of his travels, in an epistle to Sir Thomas Challoner, tutor to Henry Prince of Wales, in addition to the above, is well worthy to be recorded here:

“ Beside my hopes, not my desires, I travelled of late: for knowledge, partly; and, partly, for health. There was nothing, that made not my journey pleasant, save the labour of the way; which yet was so sweetly deceived, by the society of Sir Edmund Bacon, a gentleman truly honourable beyond all titles, that I found small cause to complain.

“ The sea brooked not me, nor I it; an unquiet element, made only for wonder and use, not for pleasure. Alighted once from that wooden conveyance and uneven way, I bethought myself how fondly our life is committed to an unsteady and reeling piece of wood, fickle winds, restless waters; while we may set foot, on steadfast and constant earth.

“ Lo, then every thing taught me, every thing delighted me: so ready are we to be affected with those foreign pleasures, which, at home, we should overlook. I saw much, as one might in such a span of earth, in so few months. The time favoured me: for, now newly had the key of peace opened those parts, which war had before closed; closed, I say, to all English, save either fugitives or captives. All civil occurrences; as what fair cities, what strange fashions, entertainment, dangers, delights we found; are fit for other ears, and winter evenings: what I noted, as a divine, within the sphere of my profession, my

paper shall not spare, in some part, to report; and that to yourself, which have passed a longer way, with more happy fruit of observation. Even little streams empty themselves into great rivers; and they, again, into the sea. Neither do I desire to tell you, what you know not: it shall be sufficient, that I relate ought, which others shall think memorable.

“ Along our way, how many churches saw we demolished! Nothing left, but rude heaps, to tell the passenger, there had been both devotion and hostility. Oh, the miserable footsteps of war, besides bloodshed, ruin and desolation! Fury hath done that there, which Covetousness would do with us; would do, but shall not: the truth within, shall save the walls without. And, to speak truly, whatever the vulgar exclaim, idolatry pulled down those walls; not rage. If there had been no Hollander to raze them, they should have fallen alone; rather than hide so much impiety, under their guilty roof. These are spectacles, not so much of cruelty, as justice: cruelty of man, justice of God.

“ But, which I wondered at, Churches fall, and Jesuits’ Colleges rise, every where: there is no city, where those are not either rearing or built. Whence cometh this? Is it, for that devotion is not so necessary, as policy? Those men, as we say of the fox, fare best, when they are most

cursed: none, so much spited of their own; none, so hated of all; none, so opposed by ours: and yet these ill weeds grow. Whosoever lives long, shall see them feared of their own, which now hate them; shall see these seven lean kine devour all the fat beasts, that feed on the meadows of Tiber, I prophesy, as Pharaoh dreamed: the event shall justify my confidence.

“ At Bruxilles, I saw some Englishwomen profess themselves Vestals; with a thousand rites; I know not whether more ridiculous, or magical. Poor souls! they could not be fools enough at home. It would have made you to pity, laugh, disdain, I know not which more, to see, by what cunning slights and fair pretences, that weak sex was fetched into a wilful bondage: and, if those two can agree, willingly constrained to serve a master, whom they must and cannot obey: whom they neither may forsake for their vow, nor can please for their frailty. What follows hence? Late sorrow, secret mischief, misery irremediable. Their forwardness for will-worship, shall condemn our coldness for truth.

“ I talked there, in more boldness perhaps than wisdom, with Costerus, a famous Jesuit; an old man, more testy than subtle, and more able to wrangle than satisfy. Our discourse was long and roving; and, on his part, full both of words and vehemency. He spake, as at home; I, as a

stranger: yet so, as he saw me modestly peremptory. The particulars would swell my letter too much: it is enough, that the truth lost less than I gained.

“ At Gant, a city that commands reverence for age and wonder for the greatness, we fell upon a Capuchin Novice, which wept bitterly, because he was not allowed to be miserable. His head had now felt the razor; his back, the rod: all that Laconical discipline pleased him well; which another, being condemned to, would justly account a torment. What hindered then? Piety, to his mother, would not permit this, which he thought piety to God. He could not be a willing beggar, unless his mother must beg unwillingly. He was the only heir of his father, the only stay of his mother: the comfort of her widowhood depended on this her orphan; who now, naked, must enter into the world of the Capuchins, as he came first into this; leaving his goods to the division of the fraternity: the least part whereof should have been her's, whose he wished all. Hence those tears, that repulse. I pitied his ill-bestowed zeal; and rather wished, than durst, teach him more wisdom. These men for devout, the Jesuits for learned and pragmatical, have engrossed all opinions, from other Orders. O hypocrisy! No Capuchin may take or touch silver: for these are, you know, the quintessence

of Franciscan spirits. This metal is as very an anathema to these, as the wedge of gold to Achan: at the offer whereof he starts back, as Moses from the Serpent: yet he carries a boy with him, that takes and carries it; and never complains, of either metal or measure. I saw, and laughed at it; and, by this open trick of hypocrisy, suspected more, more close. How could I choose? while, commonly, the least appears of that which is; especially of that which is loathsome in appearance, much more in nature. At Namur, on a pleasant and steep hill-top, we found one, that was termed a married hermit; approving his wisdom above his fellows, that could make choice of so cheerful and sociable a solitariness.

“ Whence, after a delightful passage up the sweet river Mosa,* we visited the populous and rich clergy of Leodium.† The great city might well be dichotomized into cloisters and hospitals. If I might adventure, I could here play the critic; after all the ruins of my neglected philology. Old monuments, and after them our Lipsius, call this people Eburones. I doubt whether it should not rather be written Ebriones; yet, without search of any other records, save my own eyes:

* The Maes.

D 2

† Liege.

while yet I would those streets were most moist with wine, than with blood; wherein no day, no night is not dismal to some. No law, no magistrate lays hold on the known murderer, if himself list: for, three days after his fact, the gates are open, and justice shut: private violence may pursue him; public justice cannot: whence, some of more hot temper carve themselves of revenge; others take up with a small pecuniary satisfaction. O England, thought I, happy for justice, happy for security! There, you shall find, in every corner, a maumet; at every door, a beggar; in every dish, a priest.

“ From thence we passed to the Spa, a village famous for her medicinal and mineral waters, compounded of iron and copperas; the virtue whereof yet the simple inhabitant ascribes to their beneficial Saint, whose heavy foot hath made an ill-shaped impression, in a stone of his Savenir;* a water more wholesome than pleasant, and yet more famous than wholesome.

“ The wide deserts on which it borders, are haunted with three kinds of ill cattle; freebooters, wolves, witches: although these two last are oftentimes one. For, that savage Ardena is reputed to yield many of those monsters, whom the Greeks call *Λυκανθρωποι*; they, Lougarous; we

* The name of the upper well of the Spa.

if you will, Witch-wolves : witches, that have put on the shape of those cruel beasts. We saw a boy there, whose half-face was devoured by one of them, near the village : yet so, as that the ear was rather cut, than bitten off. Not many days before our coming, at Limburgh, was executed one of those miscreants, who confessed, on the wheel, to have devoured two and forty children in that form. It would ask a large volume, to scan this problem of lycanthropy. The reasons, wherewith their relation furnished me, on both parts, would make an epistle tedious. This, in short, I resolved : a substantial change is above the reach of all infernal powers ; proper to the same hand, that created the substance of both : herein the Devil plays the double sophister : yea, the sorcerer with sorcerers : he both deludes the witch's conceit, and the beholders' eyes.

“ One thing I may not omit, without sinful oversight ; a short, but memorable story, which the Greffier of that town, though of different religion, reported to more ears than ours. When the last Inquisition tyrannized in those parts, and helped to spend the faggots of Ardenna ; one of the rest, a confident confessor, being led far to his stake, sung psalms along the way, in a heavenly courage and victorious triumph. The cruel officer, envying his last mirth, and grieving to see him merrier than his tormentors, commanded him silence : he

sings still, as desirous to improve his last breath to the best: the view of his approaching glory, bred his joy; his joy breaks forth into a cheerful confession. The enraged Sheriff causes his tongue, drawn forth to the length, to be cut off near the roots. Bloody wretch! It had been good music, to have heard his shrieks; but, to hear his music, was torment. The poor Martyr dies in silence, rests in peace. Not many months after, our butcherly officer had a son born with his tongue hanging down upon his chin, like a deer after long chase; which never could be gathered up, within the bounds of his lips. O the divine hand, full of justice, full of revenge! Go now, Lipsius, and write the new miracles of thy goddess; and confirm superstition, by strange events. Judge, you that have seen, if ever the chapel of Halle or Zichen have yielded ought more notable.

“We met, every where,* pilgrims to those his Ladies: two Ladies, shall I call them; or one Lady, in two shrines? If two, why do they worship but one? If but one, why doth she that cure at Zichem, which at Halle she could not? Oh, what pity it is, that so high a wit should, in the last act, be subject to dotage! All the masculine

* Histoire et Miracles, &c. “Que le 8. jour du mois de Septembre au dict an. 1603, étant Feste de la Nativité de notre Dame, le nombre de pelerins a été environ 20000.” Page 35.

brood of that brain we cherished, and, if need were, admired: but these his silly virgins, the feeble issue of distempered age, who can abide? One of his darlings, at Louan, * told me, from his own mouth, that the elder† of these two daughters, was by him, in ten days, got, conceived, born, christened. I believed; and wondered not. These acts of superstition have an invisible father and midwife: besides, that it is not for an elephant to go three years with a mouse. It was told me, in the shop of his Moretus, not without some indignation, that our king, when he had well viewed the book, and read some passages, threw it to the ground, with this censure: "Damnation to him, that made it; and to him, that believes it:" whether a true story, or one of their legends, I enquire not: I am sure, that sentence did not so much discontent them, as it joyed me.

"Let me tell you yet, ere I take off my pen, two wonders more, which I saw in that wonder of cities, Antwerp.

"One, a solemn mass in a shambles, and that on God's day: while the house was full of meat, of butchers, of buyers, some kneeling, others bargaining, most talking, all busy. It was strange, to see one house sacred to God and the belly; and how those two services agreed. The priest did

* Louvaine.

† *Virgo Hallensis*.

eat flesh, the butchers sold flesh; in one roof, at one instant. The butcher killed, and sold it by pieces; the priest did sacrifice, and orally devour it whole: whether was the more butcher? The like we might have seen at Malines

“The other, an Englishman,* so madly devout, that he had wilfully mured up himself as an anchorite; the worst of all prisoners: there sat he, pent up, for his further merit; half hunger-starved, for the charity of the citizens. It was worth seeing, how manly he could bite in his secret want; and dissemble his over-late repentance. I cannot commend his mortification, if he wish to be in heaven, yea, in purgatory, to be delivered from thence. I durst not pity him; because his durance was willing, and, as he hoped, meritorious: but, such encouragement as he had from me, such thank shall he have from God; who, instead of an “Euge,” which he looks for, shall angrily challenge him, with “Who required this?” I leave him now, in his own fetters; you, to your worthy and honourable employments.

“Pardon me this length. Loquacity is the natural fault of Travellers: while I profit any, I may well be forgiven.”

* One Goodwin, a Kentish-man.

The Bishop continues the "Account of himself."—

"After some year and half, it pleased God unexpectedly to contrive the change of my station. "My means were but short at Halsted; yet, such as I oft professed, if my then patron would have added but one ten pounds by year, which I held to be the value of my detained due, I should never have removed. One morning, as I lay in my bed, a strong motion was suddenly glanced into my thoughts of going to London. I arose, and betook me to the way. The ground, that appeared of that purpose, was to speak with my patron Sir Robert Drury; if, by occasion of the public preachership of St. Edmund's-Bury then offered me on good conditions, I might draw him to a willing yieldance of that parcel of my due maintenance, which was kept back from my not over-deserving predecessor: who, hearing my errand, dissuaded me from so ungainful a change, which, had it been to my sensible advantage, he should have readily given way unto; but not offering me the expected encouragement of my continuance.

"With him I staid, and preached on the Sunday following. That day Sir Robert Drury, meeting with the Lord Denny, fell belike into the commendation of my sermon. That religious and

noble Lord had long harboured good thoughts concerning me, on the reading of those poor pamphlets which I had formerly published ; and long wished the opportunity to know me. To please him in this desire, Sir Robert willed me to go and tender my service to his Lordship ; which I modestly and seriously deprecated : yet, on his earnest charge, went to his Lordship's gate ; where I was not sorry to hear of his absence.

“ Being now full of cold and distemper in Drury-lane, I was found out by a friend, in whom I had formerly no great interest, one Mr. Gurrey, tutor to the Earl of Essex. He told me how well my Meditations were accepted at the Prince's court, * and earnestly advised me to step over to Richmond, and preach to his Highness. I strongly pleaded my indisposition of body, and my inpreparation for any such work ; together with my bashful fears, and utter unfitness for such a presence. My averseness doubled his importunity : in fine, he left me not, till he had my engagement to preach the Sunday following at Richmond. He made way for me to that awful pulpit ; and encouraged me by the favour of his noble lord, the Earl of Essex. I preached. Through the favour of my God, that sermon was

* Prince Henry.

not so well given as taken; insomuch as that sweet prince signified his desire to hear me again the Tuesday following. Which done, that labor gave more contentment than the former: so as that gracious prince both gave me his hand and commanded me to his service.

“ My patron, seeing me, on my return to London, looked after by some great persons, began to wish me at home; and told me, that some or other would be snatching me up. I answered, that it was in his power to prevent: would he be pleased to make my maintenance but so competent as in right it should be, I would never stir from him. Instead of condescending, it pleased him to fall into an expostulation of the rate of competencies; affirming the variableness thereof, according to our own estimation, and our either raising or moderating the causes of our expenses. I shewed him the insufficiency of my means: that I was forced to write books to buy books. Shortly, some harsh and unpleasing answer so disheartened me, that I resolved to embrace the first opportunity of my remove.

“ Now, while I was taken up with these anxious thoughts, a messenger (it was Sir Robert Wingfield of Northampton's son) came to me from the Lord Denny, now Earl of Norwich, my after most honorable patron, entreating me from his Lordship to speak with him. No sooner came I

thither, than, after a glad and noble welcome, I was entertained with the earnest offer of Waltham. The conditions were, like the mover of them, free and bountiful. I received them, as from the munificent hand of God : and returned, full of the cheerful acknowledgments of a gracious providence over me."

The church of Waltham is neither rectory nor vicarage, but a curacy or donative, *cum curd animarum*, and, anciently had only a poor stipend of £8. a year pertaining to it, till by the pious bounty of Edward Earl of Norwich, £100. per annum, with other considerable accommodations, were settled upon the incumbent, and good lands tied for the true payment thereof.*

How unwilling Mr. Hall was to be obliged to remove from Halstead ; and his feelings on the occasion, are particularly described in the following letter to Sir Robert Drury, and his lady, concerning his removal from them :

* See *Magna Britannia*, vol. i, p. 655. Ed. 1720. 4to. Dr. Thomas Fuller, the Author of the Church History, History of Waltham Abbey, "Worthies," &c. &c. was collated to this donative by the Rt. Hon. John Haye, Earl of Carlisle. Fuller, speaking of his predecessor Hall, says, "Here I must pay the tribute of my gratitude to his memory, as building upon his foundation, beholding myself as his great-grand-child in that place, three degrees from him in succession : but, Oh ! how many from him in ability !" *WORTHIES*, vol. i, p. 566. 4to, Ed. 1811.

“ With how unwilling a heart I leave you, He knows, that searches the heart: neither durst I go, but that I sensibly see his hand pulling me from you. Indeed, desire of competency betrayed me, at first; and drew mine eyes to look aside: but, when I bent them upon the place, and saw the number and the need of the people, together with their hunger and applause, meeting with the circumstances of God’s strange conveyance of this offer to me; I saw, that was but as the fowler’s feather, to make me stoop: and, contemning that respect of myself, I sincerely acknowledged higher motives of my yielding; and resolved I might not resist.

“ You are dear to me, as a Charge to a Pastor: if my pains to you have not proved it, suspect me. Yet I leave you. God calls me to a greater work: I must follow him. It were more ease to me, to live secretly hidden in that quiet obscurity, as Saul amongst the stuff, than to be drawn out to the eye of the world; to act so high a part, before a thousand witnesses. In this point, if I seem to neglect you, blame me not: I must neglect and forget myself.

“ I can but labour, wheresoever I am. God knows how willingly I do that; whether there or here. I shall dig, and delve, and plant, in what ground soever my Master sets me. If he take

me to a larger field, complain you not of loss, while the Church may gain.

“ But, you are my own charge: no wise father neglects his own, in compassion of the greater need of others: yet consider, that even careful parents, when the prince commands, leave their families, and go to warfare.

“ What if God had called me to heaven? would you have grudged my departure? Imagine that I am there, where I shall be; although the case be not to you altogether hopeless: for, now I may hear of you, visit you, renew my holy counsels, and be mutually comforted from you; there, none of these. He, that will once transpose me from earth to heaven, hath now chosen to transpose me from one piece of earth to another: what is here worthy of your sorrow; worthy of complaint? That should be for my own good: this shall be for the good of many. If your experience have taught you, that my labours do promise profit; obtain of yourself to deny yourself so much, as to rejoice that the loss of a few should be the advantage of many souls. Though, why do I speak of loss? I speak that, as your fear, not my own: and your affection causes that fear, rather than the occasion.

“ The God of the Harvest shall send you a labourer, more able; as careful. That is my prayer, and hope, and shall be my joy. I dare

not leave, but in this expectation, this assurance. Whatever become of me, it shall be my greatest comfort to hear you commend your change; and to see your happy progress in those ways, I have both shewed you, and beaten. So shall we meet in the end, and never part.”*

About the time he was collated to Waltham Holy Cross, that is about the year 1612, he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity. He was also at this time a principal instrument in determining Thomas Sutton, Esq. the founder of the Charter-house, to purchase and erect that famous hospital. See his letter to Mr. Sutton in the 7th volume of his Works, p. 243, wherein he excites “him, and in him, all others, to early and cheerful beneficence, shewing the necessity and benefit of good works.”†

He continues his own account.—“Too late now did my former noble patron relent; and offer me those terms, which had, before, fastened me for ever.

* Bp. Hall's Works, vol. vii, p. 143.

† Hern. in vit. Sutton 59. Thomas Sutton, Esq. purchased the dissolved Charter House, in 1611, for £13,000, and founded the hospital as it now stands, with an intention of being the first master, but died before its completion, Dec. 12, the same year. At his death, he was the richest commoner in the kingdom.

“ I returned home, happy in a new master, and in a new patron: betwixt whom I divided myself and my labors, with much comfort and no less acceptation.”

About the year 1610, Mr. Hall appeared a very able apologist for the Church of England against the *Brownists*, a sect then newly sprung up, and so denominated from one Robert Brown, a fiery, hot-headed person, who, about the year 1580, and before, went about the country, inveighing against the discipline and ceremonies of the church, and exhorting the people by no means to comply with them. He boasted that for his preaching against Bishops, ceremonies, &c. he had been committed to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon-day. He and several of his followers left the kingdom, and settled at Middleburg in Zealand. There he formed a church according to his own model; but his people began to quarrel so violently, and divide into parties, that he returned to England in 1585. His father would not admit him into his house, saying, “ that he would not own him for a *son* who would not own the Church of England for his *mother*. After rambling and preaching against the church up and down the country, he settled at Northampton. But here

his preaching was so offensive that he was cited before Dr. Linsdale, Bishop of Peterborough, who, upon refusing to appear, publicly excommunicated him for contempt. This made such an impression upon the mind of Brown, that he renounced his principles of separation, and having obtained absolution, he was about the year 1592, preferred to the rectory of a church near Oundle in Northamptonshire. According to Fuller, that far from the sabbatarian strictness espoused by his followers, he was rather dissolute and a libertine; "in a word," continues our historian, "he had a wife with whom he never lived, a church in which he never preached, and as all the other scenes of his life were stormy and turbulent, so was his end."* For being poor, and proud and very passionate, he struck the constable of his parish for demanding the payment of a rate; and being beloved by no body, he was summoned before a magistrate Sir Rowland St. John, who committed him to Northampton goal. The decrepid old man not being able to walk, was carried thither upon a feather bed in a cart, where not long after he died, in 1630, in the 81st year of his age. The Brownists, though they pretended that they did not differ from the Church of England in any article of faith, yet so far

* Fuller's Ch. Hist. ch. ix, p. 167.

dissented from it, as not to allow it to be a true church, nor its ministers to be rightly ordained. They maintained the discipline of the Church to be popish and anti-christian, and all her ordinances and sacraments invalid. Hence they renounced all communion with it in prayer, in hearing the word, or in any part of public worship. And they not only renounced communion with the Church of England, but with all others, except such as should be of their own model. So rigid and narrow they were in points of discipline.

Mr. Hall, about the year 1608, wrote a Letter to Mr. John Smith and Mr. John Robinson, who separated from the Church, turned Brownists, and settled at Amsterdam as ringleaders * of the party there; in which letter he states the injury done by them to the church, the injustice of their cause, and fearfulness of their offence, censuring and advising them thus:—

“ We hear of your separation, and mourn; yet not so much for you, as for your wrong.”

* Robinson, in his pamphlet, called, “ an Answer to a Censorious Epistle,” seemed displeased at being called “ a ringleader of the late separation:” Hall wittily retorts, “ Perhaps I should have put him in the tail of this train. Perhaps I should have endorsed my letter to Mr. Smith and his *Shadow*.” Apology against the Brownists, Works, vol. ix, p. 401.

“ You could not do a greater injury to your mother, than to flee from her. Say, she were poor, ragged, weak; say, she were deformed; yet she is not infectious: or, if she were, yet she is yours. This were cause enough for you to lament her, to pray for her, to labour for her redress; not to avoid her. This unnaturalness is shameful; and more heinous in you, who are reported not parties in this evil, but authors. Your flight is not so much, as your misguidance.

“ Plead not: this fault is past excuse: if we all should follow you, this were the way of a Church, as you plead, imperfect, to make no Church; and of a remedy, to make a disease. Still the fruit of our charity to you, is, besides our grief, pity. Your zeal of truth hath misled you, and you others: a zeal, if honest, yet blindfolded, and led by self-will. Oh, that you loved peace, but half so well as truth: then, this breach had never been: and you, that are yet brethren, had been still companions.

“ ‘Go out of Babylon,’ you say, ‘the voice, not of schism, but of holiness.’ Know you where you are? Look about you, I beseech you: look behind you; and see if we have not left it upon our backs. She herself feels, and sees, that she is abandoned: and complains to all the world, that we have not only forsaken, but spoiled her; and yet you say, ‘Come out of

Babylon.' And except you will be willingly blind; you may see the heaps of her altars, the ashes of her idols, the ruins of her monuments, the condemnation of her errors, the revenge of her abominations.

“ And are we yet in Babylon? Is Babylon yet amongst us? Where are the main buildings of that accursed city: those high and proud towers, of their universal hierarchy; infallible judgment; dispensation with laws of God, and sins of men; disposition of kingdoms; deposition of princes; parting stakes with God in our conversion, through freedom of will; in our salvation, through the merit of our works? Where are those rotten heaps (rotten, not through age, but corruption) of transubstantiating of bread, adoring of images, multitude of sacraments, power of indulgences, necessity of confessions, profit of pilgrimages, constrained and approved ignorance, unknown devotions? Where are those deep vaults, if not mines, of penances and purgatories, and whatsoever hath been devised by those popelings, whether profitable or glorious, against the Lord and his Christ? Are they not all razed, and buried in the dust? Hath not the majesty of her gods, like as was done to Mythra and Serapis, been long ago offered to the public laughter of the vulgar?

What is this, but to go, yea to run, if not to fly, out of Babylon?

“ But, as every man is a hearty patron of his own actions, and it is a desperate cause that hath no plea, you allege our consorting in Ceremonies; and say, still we tarry in the suburbs. Grant that these were as ill, as an enemy can make them, or can pretend them: you are deceived, if you think the walls of Babylon stand upon Ceremonies. Substantial errors are both her foundation and frame. These ritual observations are not so much as tile and reed: rather like to some fane upon the roof; for ornament, more than use: not parts of the building; but not necessary appendances. If you take them otherwise, you wrong the Church: if thus, and yet depart, you wrong it and yourself: as if you would have persuaded righteous Lot, not to stay in Zoar, because it was so near Sodom. I fear, if you had seen the money-changers in the Temple, however you would have prayed, or taught there: Christ did it; not forsaking the place, but scourging the offenders. And this is the valour of Christian Teachers, to oppose abuses, not to run away from them. Where shall you not thus find Babylon? Would you have run from Geneva, because of her wafers? or, from Corinth, for her disordered love-feasts?

“ Either run out of the world, or your flight is in vain. If experience of change teach you not, that you shall find your Babylon every where, return not. Compare the place you have left, with that you have chosen: let not fear of seeming to repent over-soon, make you partial. Lo there a common harbour of all opinions, of all heresies; if not a mixture: here, you drew in the free and clear air of the Gospel, without that odious composition of Judaism, Arianism, Anabaptism: there, you live in the stench of these, and more. You are unworthy of pity, if you will approve your misery. Say, if you can, that the Church of England, (if she were not yours) is not a heaven, to Amsterdam. How is it then, that our gnats are harder to swallow, than their camels? and that, while all Christendom magnifies our happiness and applauds it, your handful alone so detests our enormities, that you despise our graces?

“ See, whether in this, you make not God a loser. The thank of all his favours is lost, because you want more: and in the mean time, who gains by this sequestration, but Rome and Hell? How do they insult in this advantage, that our mother's own children condemn her for unclean, that we are daily weakened by our divisions, that the rude multitude hath so palpable a motive to distrust us? Sure, you intended it

not: but, if you had been their hired agent, you could not have done our enemies greater service. The God of Heaven open your eyes, that you may see the injustice of that zeal, which hath transported you; and turn your heart to an endeavour of all Christian satisfaction: otherwise, your souls shall find too late, that it had been a thousand times better to swallow a Ceremony, than to rend a Church; yea, that even whoredoms and murders shall abide an easier answer, than separation.

“ I have done, if only I have advised you of that fearful threatening of the Wise Man: *The eye, that mocketh his father, and despises the government of his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles eat it.*”

Smith was a person of unsettled principles, and was for refining the Brownists' scheme. He advanced and maintained the doctrines of free-will and universal redemption, and similar tenets, afterwards espoused by Arminius.—We are also told that he entertained some extravagant notions, as the unlawfulness of reading the Scriptures in public worship—that no translation of the Bible was the word of God—that singing the praises of God in verses, or in set words, was without authority—that flight in time of persecution was unlawful—that the new creature needed not the

support of Scripture and ordinances, but was above them—and that perfection was attainable in this life.* The consequence of such opinions caused a serious division among the Brownists. Smith declared for the principles of the Baptists, and gave a proof of the absurdity of his conduct, in performing the ceremony of baptism upon himself, on which account he was stigmatized by the name of SE-BAPTIST. Hall alludes to this when he speaks in his dedication before his “Apology against the Brownists,” of *one who had washed off the font water, as unclean*; and in Sec. 2. of the same Treatise, “he hath renounced our Christendom with our Church, and hath washed off his former water, with new.”†

Robinson was a beneficed clergyman near Yarmouth, but seceded from the Church, embraced *Brownism*, and settled in Holland. In reply to Hall’s epistle, addressed to him and Smith, he wrote a pamphlet, called “An Answer to a censorious Epistle,” in which the “blasphemous imputations of apostacy, antichristianism, whoredom, rebellion, &c.” are cast upon the Church of England. This scurrilous pamphlet

* Life of Ainsworth, p. 38.

† Bishop Hall’s Works, vol. ix, p. 364.

was the cause of Hall's writing his "Common Apology of the Church of England against the unjust Challenges of the over-just Sect, commonly called Brownists."

The Narrative continues.

"In the second year of mine attendance on his Highness, when I came for my dismissal from that monthly service, it pleased the Prince to command me a longer stay; and, at last, upon mine allowed departure, by the mouth of Sir Thomas Challoner, his governor, to tender unto me a motion of more honor and favour than I was worthy of: which was, that it was his Highness' pleasure and purpose, to have me continually resident at the court as a constant attendant, while the rest held on their wonted vicissitudes: for which purpose, his Highness would obtain for me such preferments as should yield me full contentment. I returned my humblest thanks, and my readiness to sacrifice myself to the service of so gracious a master; but, being conscious to myself of my unanswerableness to so great expectation, and loath to forsake so dear and noble a patron, who had placed much of his heart on me, I did modestly put it off, and held close to my Waltham: where, in a constant course, I preached a long time, as I had done also at Halstead before, thrice in the week; yet never durst I

climb into the pulpit to preach any sermon whereof I had not before, in my poor and plain fashion, penned every word in the same order wherein I hoped to deliver it; although, in the expression, I listed not to be a slave to syllables."

Prince Henry, the eldest son of James I. died Nov. 6, 1612, aged eighteen years and eight months. It has been rumoured that his death was caused by poison, but his physicians declared to the contrary. Welwood says, that "it was the general rumour at that time, that this prince was poisoned. Whatever was in it, there is yet in print a sermon preached at St. James' upon the dissolution of his family, that boldly insinuated some such thing." * Now Hall preached a farewell sermon to the household of Prince Henry, on the day of their dissolution at St. James', March 25, 1613, when the loss of such an excellent prince is pathetically lamented;† but the writer of this work can find not the least insinuation alleged in this sermon that his death was occasioned by poison. Prince Henry was of a most amiable disposition, and excellent genius, exceedingly beloved whilst living, and greatly lamented after his death. He was one of the

* *Memoirs*, p. 20. † *Bishop Hall's Works*, vol. v, p. 65.

most accomplished persons of his age, sober, chaste, temperate, full of honor and probity, and was never heard to swear. He was an ardent lover of piety and religion, and accordingly the lover of all good men.* Hall dedicated several of his works to this prince, and touches with gratitude upon his kindness and virtues. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Adam Newton was the tutor of this prince, by whose instructions he is said to have greatly profited. In a letter of Dr. Joseph Hall to Mr. Newton, upon the prince being put under his tuition, there are some excellent rules and valuable maxims highly worthy of the attention of those who may have the charge of educating any of the branches of the royal family.†

We return to the Bishop's Account.

"In this while, my worthy kinsman, Mr. Samuel Barton, archdeacon of Gloucester, knowing in how good terms I stood at court, and pitying the miserable condition of his native church of Wolverhampton, was very desirous to engage me in so difficult and noble a service as the redemption of that captivated church. For which cause he importuned me to move some of my friends to

* See Harris's *Life of James I.* pp. 294-302. Neale's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii, pp. 94, 95. Ed. 1794.

† Bishop Hall's *Works*, vol. vii, p. 126.

solicit the Dean of Windsor, who by an ancient annexation is patron thereof, for the grant of a particular prebend, when it should fall vacant in that church. Answer was returned me, that it was fore-promised to one of my fellow-chaplains. I sat down, without further expectation. Some year or two after, hearing that it was become void, and meeting with that fellow-chaplain of mine, I wished him much joy of the prebend. He asked me if it were void: I assured him so; and, telling him of the former answer, delivered to me in my ignorance of his engagement, wished him to hasten his possession of it. He delayed not. When he came to the Dean of Windsor for his promised dispatch, the Dean brought him forth a letter from the Prince, wherein he was desired and charged to reverse his former engagement, since that other chaplain was otherwise provided for: and to cast that favor on me. I was sent for, who least thought of it; and received the free collation of that poor dignity. It was not the value of the place, which was but nineteen nobles per annum, that we aimed at; but the freedom of a goodly church, consisting of a dean and eight prebendaries competently endowed, and many thousand souls lamentably swallowed up by wilful recusants, in a pretended fee-farm for ever.

“O God, what a hand hadst thou in the carriage of this work!

“ When we set foot in this suit (for another of the prebendaries joined with me) we knew not wherein to insist, nor where to ground a complaint: only we knew that a goodly patrimony was, by sacrilegious conveyance, detained from the church. But, in the pursuit of it, such marvellous light opened itself unexpectedly to us, in revealing of a counterfeit seal, found in the ashes of that burned house, of a false register; in the manifestation of rasures and interpolations, and misdates of unjustifiable evidences; that, after many years’ suit, the wise and honorable Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, upon a full hearing, adjudged these two sued-for prebends, clearly to be returned to the church, until, by common law, they could, if possibly, be revicted. Our great adversary, Sir Walter Leveson, finding it but loss and trouble to struggle for litigious sheaves, came off to a peaceable composition with me of forty pounds per annum for my part, whereof ten should be to the discharge of my stall in that church, till the suit should by course of common law be determined: we agreed on fair wars. The cause was heard at the King’s Bench bar, where a special verdict was given for us. On the death of my partner in the suit, in whose name it had now been brought, it was renewed; a jury empannelled in the county: the foreman, who had vowed he would carry it for Sir Walter Leveson

howsoever, was, before the day, stricken mad, and so continued. We proceeded with the same success we formerly had. While we were thus striving, a word fell from my adversary, that gave me intimation, that a third dog would perhaps come in, and take the bone from us both : which I finding to drive at a supposed concealment, happily prevented ; for I presently addressed myself to his Majesty, with a petition for the renewing the charter of that church ; and the full establishment of the lands, rights, liberties, thereto belonging ; which I easily obtained from those gracious hands. Now Sir Walter Leveson, seeing the patrimony of the church so fast and safely settled, and misdoubting what issue those his crazy evidences would find at the common law, began to incline to offers of peace ; and at last drew him so far, as that he yielded to those two main conditions, not particularly for myself, but for the whole body of all those prebends which pertained to the church : first, that he would be content to cast up that fee-farm, which he had of all the patrimony of that church ; and, disclaiming it, receive that which he held of the said church by lease, from us the several prebendaries, for term, whether of years, or, which he rather desired, of lives ; secondly, that he would raise the maintenance of every prebend (whereof some were but forty shillings, others three pounds,

others four, &c.) to the yearly value of thirty pounds to each man, during the said term of his lease: only, for a monument of my labor and success herein, I required that my prebend might have the addition of ten pounds per annum above the fellows. We were busily treating of this happy match for that poor church: Sir Walter Leveson was not only willing, but forward: the then Dean, Mr. Antonius de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato,* gave both way and furtherance to the dispatch: all had been most happily ended, had not the scrupulousness of one or two of the number deferred so advantageous a conclusion. In the meanwhile, Sir Walter Leveson dies; leaves his young orphan ward to the King: all our hopes were now blown up; an office was found of all those lands; the very wonted payments were denied, and I called into the Court of Wards, in fair likelihood, to forego my former hold, and yielded possession. But there it was

* See an excellent letter of Bishop Hall, in Latin, to this Archbishop, in vol. ix. of his Works, p. 214, upon the Archbishop's leaving the Church of England, to reconcile himself to that of Rome. This letter is remarkably expressive of Bishop Hall's piety, zeal, and integrity. The Archbishop left England with permission from King James, went to Rome, and was kindly entertained by Pope Gregory XV. After his death he was thrown into the inquisition, and died soon after, not without suspicion of poison. The day following, his body was tied to a stake, and burnt by the sentence of the inquisition.

See Dr. Cosins' Hist. of Transubs. ed. 1676.

justly awarded by the Lord Treasurer, then Master of the Wards, that the orphan could have no more, no other right than the father: I was, therefore, left in my former state: only upon public complaint of the hard condition wherein the orphan was left, I suffered myself to be over-entreated, to abate somewhat of that evicted composition. Which work having once firmly settled, in a just pity of the mean provision, if not the destitution of so many thousand souls, and a desire and care to have them comfortably provided for in the future, I resigned up the said prebend to a worthy preacher, Mr. Lee, who should constantly reside there, and painfully instruct that great and long neglected people: which he hath hitherto performed with great mutual contentment and happy success.

“ Now during this twenty-two years which I spent at Waltham, thrice was I commanded and employed abroad by his Majesty in public service.

“ First, in the attendance of the Rt. Honorable Earl of Carlisle, then Lord Viscount Doncaster, who was sent on a noble embassy with a gallant retinue into France; whose entertainment there, the annals of that nation will tell to posterity. In the midst of that service was I surprised with a miserable distemper of body; which ended in a *diarrhœa biliosa*, not without some beginning

and further threats of a dysentery : wherewith I was brought so low, that there seemed small hope of my recovery. Mr. Peter Moulin, to whom I was beholden for his frequent visitations, being sent by my Lord Ambassador to inform him of my estate, brought him so sad news thereof, as that he was much afflicted therewith; well supposing his welcome to Waltham could not but want much of the heart without me. Now the time of his return drew on, Dr. Moulin kindly offered to remove me, on his Lordship's departure, to his own house; promising me all careful tendance. I thanked him; but resolved, if I could but creep homewards, to put myself on the journey. A litter was provided; but of so little ease, that Simeon's penitential lodging, or a malefactor's stocks, had been less penal. I crawled down from my close chamber into that carriage: *In quâ videbaris mihi efferri, tanquam in sandapilâ*, as Mr. Moulin wrote to me afterward. That misery had I endured in all the long passage from Paris to Dieppe, being left alone to the surly muleteers, had not the providence of my good God brought me to St. Germain's, upon the very minute of the setting out of those coaches which had staid there upon that morning's entertainment

^a "In which you seemed to me to be carried, as if in a coffin."

of my Lord Ambassador. How glad was I, that I might change my seat and my company! In the way, beyond all expectation, I began to gather some strength. Whether the fresh air or the desires of my home revived me, so much and so sudden reparation ensued, as was sensible to myself, and seemed strange to others. Being shipped at Dieppe, the sea used us hardly: and, after a night and a great part of the day following, sent us back well wind-beaten to that bleak haven whence we set forth, forcing us to a more pleasing land-passage, through the coasts of Normandy and Picardy: towards the end whereof my former complaint returned on me: and, landing with me, accompanied me to and at my long-desired home. In this my absence it pleased his Majesty graciously to confer on me the deanery of Worcester; which, being promised to me before my departure, was deeply hazarded while I was out of sight, by the importunity and underhand-working of some great ones. Dr. Field, the learned and worthy Dean of Gloucester, was by his potent friends put into such assurances of it, that I heard where he took care for the furnishing that ample house. But God fetched it about for me, in that absence and nescience of mine: and that reverend and better deserving divine was well satisfied with greater

hopes, and soon after exchanged this mortal estate for an immortal and glorious.

“ Before I could go down, through my continuing weakness, to take possession of that dignity, his Majesty pleased to design me to his attendance into Scotland; where the great love and respect that I found, both from the ministers and people, wrought me no small envy from some of our own.* Upon a commonly received supposition, that his Majesty would have no further use of his chaplains after his remove from Edinburgh (forasmuch as the divines of the country, whereof there is great store and worthy choice, were allotted to every station,) I easily obtained, through the solicitation of my ever honoured Lord of Carlisle, to return with him before my fellows. No sooner was I gone, than suggestions were made to his Majesty of my over-plausible demeanor and doctrine to that already prejudicate people: for which his Majesty, after a gracious acknowledgment of my good service there done, called me, upon his return, to a favourable and mild account; not more freely professing what informations had been given against me, than his own full satisfaction with my sincere and just answer; as whose excellent wisdom well saw, that such winning carriage of mine could be no hinderance to those

* See Bishop Hall's Works, vol. v, p. 102.

his great designs. At the same time his Majesty, having secret notice that a letter was coming to me from Mr. W. Struther, a reverend and learned divine of Edinburgh, concerning the Five Points then proposed and urged to the church of Scotland,* was pleased to impose on me an earnest charge, to give him a full answer in satisfaction to those his modest doubts, and at large to declare my judgment concerning those required observations: which I speedily performed, with so great approbation of his Majesty, that it pleased him to command a transcript thereof,† as I was informed, publicly read in their most famous

* The Scots Ministers understanding that the king designed to bring about an uniformity between the churches of England and Scotland, appointed one Mr. William Struthers, a divine of Edinburgh, to preach against such a proceeding; who, in his sermon in the principal Church of Edinburgh, not only condemned the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, but prayed God to save Scotland from the same.* The following five points or articles were then proposed and urged to the kirk, as a step towards producing uniformity.

1. That the holy sacraments should be received kneeling. 2. That ministers were to administer the sacrament in private houses to the sick, if desired. 3. That ministers were to baptize children privately at home, in cases of necessity. 4. That ministers should bring such children of their parishes, as could say the Catechism, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, to the Bishop to be confirmed. 5. That the festivals of Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, and the Ascension, were to be commemorated in the Kirk of Scotland.

† This famous Letter to Mr. Struthers is in vol. ix. of Bishop Hall's Works, p. 481-489.

* Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 72. Ed. 1668.

university: the effect whereof his Majesty vouchsafed to signify afterwards unto some of my best friends, with allowance beyond my hopes."

The following year at an assembly convened at Perth, Aug. 25, 1618, an Act was passed to admit those five Articles, which his Majesty had been courting the Scots for two years together to receive. The king, therefore ordered these articles to be read in all parish churches, and required the ministers to preach upon the lawfulness of them, and to exhort their people to submission. And in order to give them a greater authority, they were ordered to be published at the market cross of the principal boroughs; but this proved not sufficient to enforce conformity as was expected, so in the year 1621, it was enacted by an Act of Parliament that those articles should be observed; which was certainly contrary to the sense of the kirk and the Scots nation.*

The king's journey into Scotland was far from answering the end he had in view; "the king," says Heylin, "gained nothing by that chargeable journey, but the neglect of his commands, and a contempt of his authority."

* Crawford's Lives, p. 174. Harris's Life of James I. p. 280. Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 110. Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 74.

His majesty, in his return from Scotland, in 1617, passing through Lancashire, imagined that the strict observance of the Sabbath-day enjoined by the magistrates and clergy, tended to prejudice the minds of papists against the strictness of the Church of England. Complaints being made to the king that the people were prohibited from all sorts of diversions and sports on the sabbath-day; wherefore in order to discourage Puritanism and to silence the objections of Papists, his Majesty published a declaration called "*The Book of Sports*," to encourage recreations and sports on the Lord's day!

It is said that this book of sports was drawn up by Bishop Morton; it was dated, "Greenwich, May 24, 1618." The substance of it is the following: "That for his good people's recreation, his Majesty's pleasure was, that after the end of divine service, they should not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreations; such as *dancing*, either of men or women, *archery* for men, *leaping*, *vaulting*, or any such harmless recreations; nor having of *may-games*, *whitsun ales*, or *morris dances*, or setting up of *may poles*, or other sports therewith used, so as the same may be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or let of divine service; and that women should have leave to carry *rushes* to the church for the decorating of it,

according to their old customs ; withal prohibiting all unlawful games to be used on *Sundays* only, as *bear-baiting*, *bull-baiting*, *interludes*, and at all times (in the meaner sort of people prohibited) *bowling*." A restraint was annexed to this indulgence, that no papist or recusant was to have the benefit of this declaration ; nor such as were not present at the whole of divine service, nor such as did not keep to their own parish churches, i. e. puritans who probably frequented other churches, instead of that of their own parish, on account of the character of the several ministers. Now this royal declaration was not only an inlet for the gross violation of the divine command, "Remember to keep HOLY the sabbath day ;" but it tended to demoralize the people. It was contrary to the king's proclamation in the first year of his reign, and to the articles of the Irish Church, ratified under the great seal, 1615, in which the morality of the Lord's day is affirmed.* But the Puritans, being the objects of his Majesty's aversion and hatred, by their preaching and practice,

* Article 56. The first day of the week, which is the Lord's day, is wholly to be dedicated to the service of God, and therefore we are bound therein to rest from our common and daily business, and to bestow that leisure upon holy exercises, both public and private."

See the Articles at large in Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. 5. Appendix iii.

were inculcating the strict observance of the sabbath; and therefore the fasts and festivals of the church were rather neglected, and in order to counteract this, his Majesty thought proper to command those idle and vain sports on the Lord's day; in order to prevent the growth of *Puritanism* and *Popery*! or, in other words, to prevent the blessed effects of true religion in the minds of his subjects, and to encourage all vice and immorality!

This royal declaration was ordered to be read in all the parish churches of Lancashire, and was intended to be read in all the churches of England, but that Archbishop Abbot, being at Croydon, the day on which it was ordered to be read in the churches, expressly forbid it to be read there. Several of the bishops also and clergy declared their opinion against this *book of sports*. Most probably Dr. Hall disapproved of it highly, as he afterwards did when Bishop of Exeter; when he and several of the bishops would not urge the reading of it, when a *second edition* of it, *revised* and *enlarged* was set forth by royal authority in the ninth year of Charles the first.*

The publishing of such a declaration, as it may

* That Bishop Hall was an advocate for the morality of the sabbath, we may see in an account of the manner of his spending it, in the 7th vol. of his Works, p. 266.

be well imagined, made a great noise : for it was certainly an imprudent project as well as a source of grief to all sincere protestants, and friends of religion. And had the king persisted in ordering it to be read publicly in all the churches, under the penalty of suffering from the high commission, it would probably have produced much greater convulsions than it did in the following reign, about fifteen years afterwards.*

It is difficult to account for the distinction between *lawful* and *unlawful* sports on the Lord's day ; if any sports are lawful, why not all ? No reason can possibly be given why *dancing, revels, wakes, may games*, and such like, should be more lawful than *bear or bull baiting, interludes, and bowls*. The nature of both is immoral, for they have equal tendency to promote vice and immorality. The exceptions in his Majesty's declaration are truly extraordinary ; could the king believe that those who were *puritanically* inclined, or who went to other parish churches for their better edification, would now make use of the liberty of his declaration, when he must know that they conscientiously believed in the morality of the fourth commandment, and that no ordinance

* Warner's Eccles. Hist. of England, vol. ii, p. 500. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 115.

of man could make void the law of God? His majesty also debars *recusants*, i. e. papists, from this liberty, which popery always had indulged them with; but the *Papist* is now to turn *Puritan*, with regard to the sabbath, being forbidden the use of sports and recreations on the Lord's day, in which he always indulged; and protestants are to dance and revel on that sacred day to preserve them from *Puritanism* and *Popery*: how absurd, unreasonable, ungodly and profane was this *book of sports* of King James I.* When a *second edition* of it was set forth in the next reign, some further particulars and remarks concerning it will be given.

In the year 1618, the troubles and disputes about religious matters began in Holland, between the Calvinists and Arminians, or, as they were also termed, *remonstrants* and *contra-remonstrants*. Their controversies were reduced to the following five points;—election—redemption—original sin—effectual grace—and perseverance. In order to decide these difficulties, the States-General resolved to convene a national Synod at Dort.

* Dr. Warner in his *Eccles. Hist. of England*, gives the following account of King James I. and his court—"It was said that the court gave a very ill example to the rest of the nation; nothing was to be heard there but oaths and language bordering upon blasphemy, from which the king himself was not free." Vol. ii, p. 500.

And in order to give the greater lustre and weight to their determination, they requested some foreign princes to send to them the assistance of their divines. King James I. was applied to for some English divines to be sent over, who was pleased to appoint George Carleton, D. D. Bishop of Landaff, Joseph Hall, D. D. then Dean of Worcester, John Davenant, D. D. Margaret Professor, and Master of Queen's College, Cambridge, Samuel Ward, D. D. Master of Sydney College, Cambridge, and Archdeacon of Taunton.*

These divines, according to their summons, repaired to the King then at New Market, and received from him the following instructions relative to their conduct in the synod.

1. "Our will and pleasure is, that from this time forward upon all occasions, you inure yourselves to the practice of the Latin tongue, that when there is cause, you may deliver your minds with more readiness and facility.

2. "You shall, in all points to be debated and disputed, resolve amongst yourselves beforehand,

* These four divines were distinguished "in their respective eminences:" "In Carletono prælucebat Episcopalis gravitas, in Davenantio subactum judicium; in Wardo multa lectio: in Hallo expedita concionatio." Fuller's Worthies, vol. ii, p. 190, ed. 1811, 4to.

what is the true state of the question, and jointly and uniformly agree thereupon.

3. " If in debating of the cause by the learned men there, any thing be emergent, whereof you thought not before, you shall meet and consult thereupon again, and so resolve among yourselves jointly what is fit to be maintained. And this to be done agreeable to the Scriptures, and the doctrine of the Church of England.

4. " Your advice shall be to those churches, that their ministers do not deliver in the pulpit to the people these things for ordinary doctrines, which are the highest points of the schools, and not fit for vulgar capacity, but disputable on both sides.

5. " That they use no innovation in doctrine, but teach the same things which were taught twenty or thirty years past in their own churches, and especially that which contradicteth not their own confessions so long since published and known unto the world.

6. " That they conform themselves to the public confessions of the neighbour reformed churches, with whom to hold good correspondency, shall be no dishonour to them.

7. " That if there be main opposition between any who are over-much addicted to their own opinions, your endeavours shall be, that certain

positions be moderately laid down, which may tend to the mitigation of heat on both sides.

8. "That, as you principally look to God's glory, and the peace of those distracted churches, so you have an eye to our honour, who send and employ you thither; and consequently at all times consult with our Ambassador there residing, who is best acquainted with the form of those countries, understandeth well the questions and differences among them, and shall from time receive our princely directions, as occasion shall require.

9. "Finally, in all other things, which we cannot foresee, you shall carry yourselves with that advice, moderation, and discretion as to persons of your quality and gravity shall appertain."

These divines, after having received his Majesty's instructions, prepared for the voyage; and the United States sent over a man of war to Gravesend, to convey them to Holland:* but accidentally they missed the man of war, and so were obliged to take their passage over in a small

* "I have even now letters from the Admiralty at Rotterdam, that the ship, wherein I passed last into England, shall go presently over to fetch those reverend persons his Majesty doth send to the Synod; and I do by this bearer appoint it to attend their commodity at Gravesend." Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton, 4to, p. 306.

vessel, and safely landed Oct. 20, 1618, at Middleburgh.*

This famous Synod consisted of thirty-six ministers of the United States, and five professors, together with twenty elders: to these were added twenty-eight foreign divines. Mr. Balcanqual, a Scots divine, was deputed by his Majesty to represent the Kirk in the Synod. The ever-memorable John Hales also attended the Synod, not as a member, but was sent by Sir Dudley Carleton, the English Ambassador in Holland, to give him an account of what passed in the Synod.†

The English divines being arrived at the Hague, were introduced to the Assembly of the States on the 5th of November, by the English Ambassador. They were received with every mark of distinction: and were allowed by the states, ten pounds sterling a day: "an entertainment," says Fuller, far larger than what was appointed to any other foreign Theologues; and politickly proportioned in grateful consideration of the greatness of his Majesty who employed them. And these English divines, knowing themselves sent over not to gain wealth to themselves, but glory

* Fuller's Ch. Hist. c. 10, p. 78.

† Hale's Golden Remains, p. 454, 8vo. London, 1697. He was Chaplain to the Ambassador.

to God, and reputation to their Sovereign, freely gave what they had freely received, keeping a table general, where any fashionable foreigner was courteously and plentifully entertained.”*

It has been said that this Synod was not conducted with impartiality; and that its end and design was to condemn the Remonstrants. The majority certainly were Calvinists, or Anti-remonstrants, and on that account, it may be that the Remonstrants had no fair play to defend themselves, and were also not admitted to a free debate.

When all the members of the Synod were assembled, the following Oath was taken by them in the 23d Session, each person standing up in his place, and laying his hand upon his heart:

“ I promise before God, whom I believe and worship, as here present, and as the searcher of the reins and heart, that during the whole course of the transactions of this Synod, in which there will be made an enquiry into, and judgment and decision of, not only the well-known *five points*, and all the difficulties resulting from thence, but likewise of all other sorts of doctrine, I will not make use of any kind of human writings, but only

* Fuller's Ch. Hist. c. x, p. 79.

of the word of God, as a sure and infallible rule of faith. Neither will I have any other thing in view throughout this whole discussion, but the honour of God, the peace of the church, and above all, the preservation of the purity of doctrine. So keep me my Saviour Jesus Christ, whom I ardently beseech to assist me in this my design, by his Holy Spirit."

John Goodwin, in his book termed *Redemption Redeemed*, p. 395, charges the contra-remonstrants with taking a previous oath to condemn the opposite party on what terms soever. This must have been an unjust insinuation. Fuller, the writer of the Church History, about the time such false reports were spread concerning the Synod, wrote to Dr. Hall, Bishop of Norwich, who was then alive, 1651, to ask the truth. The aged and venerable Bishop returned the following full and satisfactory reply:

"Whereas you desire from me a just relation of the carriage of the business at the Synod of Dort, and the conditions required of our Divines there, at or before their admission to that grave and learned Assembly: I, whom God was pleased to employ, as an unworthy agent in that great work, and to reserve still upon earth, after all my reverend and worthy associates, do, as in the presence of that God, to whom I am now daily expecting to yield up my account, testify to you,

and (if you will) to the world, that I cannot, without just indignation, read that slanderous imputation, which *Mr. Goodwin*, in his *Redemption Redeem'd*, reports to have been raised, and cast upon those Divines, eminent both for learning and piety, "That they suffered themselves to be bound with an Oath, at, or before their admission into that Synod, to vote down the Remonstrants howsoever," so as they came deeply pregnated to the decision of those unhappy differences.

"Truly, Sir, as I hope to be saved, all the Oath that was required was this : after that the Moderator, Assistants, and Scribes were chosen, and the Synod formed, and the several members allowed, there was a solemn Oath required to be taken by every one of that Assembly, which was publicly done in a grave manner, by every person in their order, standing up, and laying his hand upon his heart, calling the great God of heaven to witness, that he would impartially proceed in the judgment of these controversies, which should be laid before him, only out of, and according to the written word of God, and no otherwise, so determining of them, as he should find in his conscience most agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, which Oath was punctually agreed to be thus taken by the Articles of the *States*, concerning

the indiction, and ordering of the Synod, as appears plainly in their tenth Article; and this was all the Oath that was either taken, or required. And far was it from those holy souls, which are now glorious in heaven, or mine (who still for some short time survive, to give this just witness of our sincere integrity) to entertain the least thought of any so foul corruption, as by any over-ruling power to be swayed to a prejudgment in the points controverted.

“ It grieves my soul therefore to see, that any learned Divine should raise imaginary conjectures to himself, of an interest and obligation of a fancied Oath (working upon them, and drawing them contrary to the dictation of their own conscience, as it did *Herod's* in the case of John Baptist's beheading) merely out of his own comparative construction of the different forms of expressing themselves in managing those controversies. Wherein if at any time they seemed to speak nearer to the Tenet of the Remonstrants, it must be imputed to their holy ingenuity, and gracious disposition to peace, and to no other sinister respect.

“ Sir, since I have lived to see so foul an aspersions cast upon the memory of those worthy and eminent Divines, I bless God that I yet live to vindicate them, by this my knowing, clear, and

assured attestation ; which I am ready to second with the solemnest Oath, if I shall be thereto required.

Your much devoted friend, precessor,
and fellow labourer,

Higham,

August 30, 1651.

JOSEPH HALL, B. N.

Fuller makes the following pertinent remarks upon the above epistle: " Let the reader weigh in the balance of his judgment, how this purgation of the Synod of Dort is positive, and punctual, from one, an ear and eye witness thereof, being such an one as Dr. Hall, the aged; so that his *testimonium* herein, may seem *testamentum*: his *witness* his *will*, and the truth therein delivered, a legacy by him bequeathed to posterity.*

After being at the Synod for about two months, Dr. Hall found that the air of Dort did not agree with him: the noise and unquietness of the place did also so disturb his rest, that he was reduced to great debility. The other English divines therefore wrote to the English Ambassador, Sir Dudley Carleton, that he desired leave to return to England, and they recommended in his room Dr. Goad, Chaplain to the Archbishop

* Ch. Hist. b. x, p. 86.

of Canterbury ; they also requested his excellency to write to the Archbishop, to procure that favor from the King. But the Prince of Orange was not willing that Dr. Hall should return, he therefore wished him to come to the Hague, to try whether change of air would do him good ; and in the mean time, if it would please the king to send Dr. Goad, and if Dr. Hall would recover his health, they might enjoy the benefit of the assistance of both.

The assistance of the English divines in the transactions of the Synod was considerable and duly estimated. Upon several occasions they gave satisfactory proof of their abilities, sufficiency, and discretion. The other Foreign and Dutch divines were in a great measure guided by the English, so that they rather wished their number augmented than diminished : particularly they were very unwilling to spare Dr. Hall, who was highly respected and esteemed by them.*

“ By that time,” continues the narrative, “ I had staid some two months there, the unquietness of the nights in those garrison towns working on the tender disposition of my body, brought me to such weakness through want of rest, that

* See Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton, 4to. 1775. Second Edition.

it began to disable me from attending the Synod: which yet, as I might, I forced myself unto; as wishing that my zeal could have discountenanced my infirmity. Where, in the mean time, it is well worthy of my thankful remembrance, that, being in an afflicted and languishing condition for a fortnight together, with that sleepless distemper, yet it pleased God, the very night before I was to preach the Latin sermon to the Synod, to bestow on me such a comfortable refreshing of sufficient sleep, as whereby my spirits were revived, and I was enabled with much vigor and vivacity to perform that service: which was no sooner done, than my former complaint renewed on me, and prevailed against all the remedies that the counsel of physicians could advise me unto; so as, after long strife, I was compelled to yield unto a retirement, for the time, to the Hague; to see if change of place and more careful attendance, which I had in the house of our Right Honorable Ambassador, the Lord Carleton, now Viscount Dorchester, might recover me. But when, notwithstanding all means, my weakness increased so far, as that there was small likelihood left of so much strength remaining as might bring me back into England, it pleased his gracious Majesty, by our noble Ambassador's solicitation, to call me off; and to substitute a worthy divine, Dr. Goade, in my unwilling for-

saken room. Returning by Dort, I sent in my sad farewell to that grave assembly; who, by common vote, sent to me the president of the Synod and the assistants with a respective and gracious valediction. Neither did the deputies of my lords the States neglect, after a very respectful compliment sent from them to me by Daniel Heinsius, to visit me: and, after a noble acknowledgment of more good service from me than I durst own, dismissed me with a honourable retribution; and sent after me a rich medal of gold* the portraiture of the Synod, for a precious monument of their respects to my poor endeavours: who failed not, while I was at the Hague, to impart unto them my poor advice concerning the proceeding of that synodical meeting. The difficulties of my return, in such weakness, were many and great; wherein, if ever, God manifested his special providence to me, in overruling the cross accidents of that passage: and, after many dangers and despairs, contriving my safe arrival."

* This medal, which the Bishop used to wear suspended on his breast, as appears by some of his portraitures, came into the possession of the family of Jermy, of Bayfield Hall, near Holt, in the County of Norfolk; and was bequeathed by William Jermy, Esq. at his death, which happened in January 1750, (*Gent. Magazine*) to Emmanuel College, Cambridge. See *Master's History of Bene't College, Cambridge*, p. 367.

It was on Nov. 29, 1618, being the sixteenth session of the Synod, that Dr. Hall preached his Latin Sermon before this famous assembly. But his disorder again recurred, which eventually obliged him to return to his native air. He preached from Eccles. vii, 16. *Be not righteous overmuch, neither make thyself overwise.* He observed, among many excellent things, that "there were two sorts of theology, scholastic and popular, the one respects the foundation, the other the form and ornaments of the building: the one relates to the things, which ought to be known, the other to things which may be known: the knowledge of the one makes a christian; of the other, a disputer. Or, the one makes a divine, the other polishes him. That if St. Paul should come into the world again, he would not understand the subtle disputes between the Jesuits and the Dominicans. That the Catechism of the Apostles consisted only of six articles: that the modern theology was like the quantity of Mathematicians, which is divisible in *infinitum*." He concluded with an earnest exhortation to peace and unanimity among christians: "study to be quiet," said he, φιλοτιμεισθαι πνευματικῶν, "we are brethren, let us be fellow servants, what have we to do with the infamous title of *remonstrants*, and *contra-remonstrants*, of *Calvinists* and *Arminians*. We are christians, let us be

like-minded, *ισοψυχοι*. We are one body, let us be of one mind. I beseech you, brethren, by the tremendous name of God, by the pious and cherishing bosom of our common mother, (the church;) by your own souls, by the most holy bowels of our Saviour Jesus Christ, promote peace." For this excellent discourse, thanks were publicly given him; and it was printed in the transactions of the Synod;* and it is for the first time printed apart in the Appendix to this volume.

After being kindly taken care of, in the house of the English Ambassador for some weeks, Dr. Hall still continued very weak; the king therefore granted him leave to return as soon as his strength would permit. When he so far recovered as to be able to be removed, he returned by Dort, and, "with a becoming gravity, publicly took his solemn farewell of the Synod" with the following Latin speech:

"Non facilè verò mecum in gratiam redierit cadaverosa hæc moles, quam ægrè usque circumgesto, quæ mihi hujus Conventus celebritatem toties inviderit, jamque prorsus invitissimum à vobis importunè avocat, et divellit. Neque enim ullus est profectò sub cælo locus æquè cæli

* See Acta Synodi Nationalis Dordrechtone, p. 38. ed. 1620. fol.

æmulus, et in quo tentorium mihi figi maluerim, cujusque adeo gestiet mihi animus meminisse. Beatos verò vos, quibus hoc frui datum! non dignus eram ego (ut fidelissimi Romani querimoniam imitari liceat) qui et Christi, et Ecclesiæ suæ nomine, sanctam hanc provinciam diutius sustinerem. Illud vero ΘΕΣ ΕΥ ΨΕΥΔΟΣ. Nempe audito, quod res erat, non aliâ me quàm adversissimâ hic usum valetudine, Serenissimus Rex meus misertus miselli famuli sui, revocat me domum, quippe quòd cineres meos, aut sandapilum vobis nihil quicquam prodesse posse nôrit, succenturiavitque mihi virum è suis selectissimum, quantum Theologum. De me profectò (mero jam silicernio) quicquid fiat, viderit ille Deus meus, cujus ego totus sum. Vobis quidem ita feliciter prospectum est, ut sit cur infirmitati meæ haud parùm gratulemini, quam hujusmodi instructissimo succedaneo cœtum hunc vestrum beaverit. Neque tamen committam (si Deus mihi vitam, et vires indulserit) ut et corpore simul, et animo abesse videar. Intereâ sanè huic Synodo, ubicunque terrarum sum, et vobis, consiliis conatibusque meis quibuscunque, res vestras me, pro virili, sedulò, ac seriò promoturum, sanctè voveo. Interim vobis omnibus, ac singulis, Honoratissimi Domini Delegati, Reverendissime Præses, Gravissimi Assessores, Scribæ doctissimi, Symmystæ colendissimi, Tibique, Venerandissima Synodus universa, ægro

animo ac corpore æternum valedico. Rogo vos omnes obnixius, ut precibus vestris imbecillem reducem facere, comitari, prosequi velitis."

The Synod continued from Nov. 13, 1618, to May 29, 1619. The English divines agreed in approving the Belgic confession of faith, and the Heidelberg Catechism. The five points of difference between the Calvinists and Arminians were decided in favor of the former. Afterwards the remonstrant divines were dismissed the assembly, and banished the country within a limited time. The deprivations and banishments, which followed the decision of the Synod, of such eminent men, as Episcopius, Uytenbogart, Corvenus, &c. and the persecution, which ensued throughout the united states against the Arminians, greatly diminish the good opinion we might otherwise form of the Synod, and of its transactions. Many of the divines undoubtedly meant well; but the mischief was, there were worldly views and state policy interwoven with its religious acts.*

When the opinions of the British divines upon the extent of Christ's redemption were read, it was observed that they omitted the distinction between the *sufficiency* and *efficacy* of it; nor did they touch upon the limitation of those passages

* See Harris's Life of James I, p. 152.

of Scripture, which, speaking of Christ's dying, for *the whole world*, are frequently interpreted of the *world of the elect*. Dr. Davenant and some of his brethren inclined to the doctrine of universal redemption: he and Dr. Ward were for a middle way between the two extremes; they maintained the *certainty* of the salvation of the elect, and that offers of pardon were sent not only to all who should believe and repent, but to all who hear the gospel; and that *grace sufficient* to convince and persuade the *impenitent* (so as to lay the blame of their condemnation upon themselves) went along with these offers: that the redemption of Christ and his merits were applicable to these, and consequently there was a possibility of their salvation. They however complied with the Synod, and agreed to their confession, as in general agreeable to the word of God. But some years after, a report arose that they had deserted the doctrine of the Church of England, upon which Dr. Hall expressed his concern to Dr. Davenant in these words—"I will live and die in the suffrage of that Synod of Dort; and I do confidently avow, that those other opinions (of Arminius) cannot stand with the doctrine of the Church of England." To which Dr. Davenant replied, "I know that no man can embrace Arminianism in the doctrines of *predestination* and grace, but he must desert the articles agreed upon

by the Church of England; nor in the point of *perseverance*, but he must vary from the received opinions of our best approved doctors in the English Church."

The narrative continues :—

"After not many years' settling at home, it grieved my soul to see our own church begin to sicken of the same disease which we had endeavoured to cure in our neighbors. Mr. Montague's tart and vehement assertions of some positions, near of kin to the remonstrants of Netherland, gave occasion of raising no small broil in the church. Sides were taken: pulpits every where rang of these opinions: but parliaments took notice of the division, and questioned the occasioner. Now, as one that desired to do all good offices to our dear and common mother, I set my thoughts on work how so dangerous a quarrel might be happily composed: and, finding that mistaking was more guilty of this dissention than misbelieving (since it plainly appeared to me, that Mr. Montague meant to express, not Arminius, but B. Overall, a more moderate and safe author, however he sped in delivery of him,) I wrote a little project of pacification, wherein I desired to rectify the judgment of men concerning this mis-apprehended controversy; showing them the true party in this unseasonable plea: and, because

B. Overall * went a midway betwixt the two opinions which he held extreme, and must needs therefore somewhat differ from the commonly-received tenet in these points, I gathered out of B. Overall on the one side, and out of our English divines at Dort on the other, such common propositions concerning these five busy articles as wherein both of them are fully agreed. All which being put together, seemed unto me to make up so sufficient a body of accorded truth, that all other questions moved hereabouts appeared merely superfluous; and every moderate Christian might find where to rest himself, without hazard of contradiction. These I made bold, by the hands of Dr. Young the worthy Dean of Winchester, to present to his excellent Majesty, together with an humble motion of a peaceable silence to be enjoined to both parts, in those other collateral and needless disquisitions: which, if they might benefit the schools of academical disputants, could not certainly sound well from the pulpits of popular auditories. Those reconciliatory papers fell under the eyes of some grave divines on both parts. Mr. Montague professed that he had seen them, and would subscribe to

* He was one of the most profound school divines of the English nation. He was employed in the translation of the Bible; and wrote the sacramental part of the Church Catechism.

them very willingly: others, that were contrarily minded, both English, Scottish, and French divines, proferred their hands to a no less ready subscription. So as much peace promised to result, out of that weak and poor enterprise, had not the confused noise of the misconstructions of those who never saw the work, crying it down for the very name's sake, meeting with the royal edict of a general inhibition, buried it in a secure silence."

"I was scorched a little with this flame, which I desired to quench: yet this could not stay my hand from thrusting itself into a hotter fire."

"Some insolent Romanists, Jesuits especially, in their bold disputations (which, in the time of the treaty of the Spanish match and the calm of that relaxation, were very frequent,) pressed nothing so much as a catalogue of the professors of our religion to be deduced from the primitive times; and, with the peremptory challenge of the impossibility of this pedigree, dazzled the eyes of the simple: while some of our learned men, undertaking to satisfy so needless and unjust a demand, gave, as I conceived, great advantage to the adversary. In a just indignation to see us thus wronged by misstating the question betwixt us, as if we, yielding ourselves of another church, originally and fundamentally different, should make good our own erection on the ruins, yea, the

nality of theirs ; and well considering the infinite and great inconveniences, that must needs follow on this defence ; I adventured to set my pen on work ; desiring to rectify the opinions of those men, whom an ignorant zeal had transported, to the prejudice of our holy cause : laying forth the damnable corruptions of the Roman church, yet making our game of the outward visibility thereof ; and, by this means, putting them to the probation of those newly-obtruded corruptions, which are truly guilty of the breach betwixt us. The drift whereof being not well conceived by some spirits that were not so wise as fervent, I was suddenly exposed to the rash censures of many well-affected and zealous Protestants ; as if I had, in a remission to my wonted zeal to the truth, attributed too much to the Roman church, and strengthened the adversaries' hands, and weakened our own. This envy I was fain to take off, by my speedy Apologetical Advertisement ; and, after that, by my Reconciler, seconded with the unanimous letters of such reverend, learned, sound divines, * both bishops and doctors, as whose undoubtable authority was able to bear down calumny itself : which done, I did, by a reasonable moderation, provide for the peace

* B. Morton, B. Davenant, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Primrose.

of the church, in silencing both my defendants and challengers, in this unkind and ill-raised quarrel."

To this hasty sketch of the Bishop's, some further particulars may be added.

Popery at this time was gaining ground in many places; a book was published by a papist, entitled, *A New Gag for the Old Gospel*, which Mr. Richard Montague, Rector of Stamford-Rivers in Essex, undertook to answer in the year 1623, by a book, called, *A New Gag for an Old Goose*. This reply gave a great offence to many of the clergy. It was written in a satirical manner, for Mr. Montague's ink was generally mingled with much gall: and its tendency was, in a great measure, to promote Popery and Arminianism. This book occasioned much noise, and "no small broil in the church." Two divines of the diocese of Norwich, Mr. Ward and Mr. Gates, undertook to extract the Popish and Arminian tenets out of it, in order to lay them before Parliament; and the charge of propagating Popish and Arminian errors, and of deserting instead of defending the cause of the church, was made to Parliament against Mr. Montague. He was therefore examined at the bar of the house, and referred to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who expressly prohibited him to write any more

on such subjects. But the king openly protected him, and approved of his sentiments. Being thus encouraged by his Majesty, Mr. Montague wrote a vindication of himself in a work, intitled, *Appello Cæsarem*; or *Appeal to Cæsar*, and designed it for King James; but he died before the book was published, it was therefore dedicated to Charles I. This appeal was calculated to attempt a reconciliation with Rome, to promote Arminianism, and to advance the king's prerogative above law. The house appointed a committee to examine into its errors;—afterwards they voted it contrary to the articles of the Church of England, and bound the author in a recognizance of £2000 for his appearance.*

Dr. Laud, then Bishop of St. David's, and the Bishops of Rochester and Oxford, joined in a letter† to the Duke of Buckingham, to prevail on his Majesty to take the cause of Mr. Montague into his own hands. This letter had its desired effect, and procured quietness to him. His Majesty declared he would bring the cause before the council, it being a branch of his supremacy to determine matters of religion. He expressed his

* Neale's History of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 161.

† See the Letter in Heylin's Life of Archbishop Laud, pp. 136, 137.

displeasure against the commons for calling his chaplain to their bar.

King James I. died March 27, 1625, in the 59th year of his age. "The Church of England," says Harris, "under James, was in a happy state, being highly praised, protected, and favoured by him."* Dr. Hall, in a sermon preached to his Majesty, at the court of Whitehall, Aug. 8, 1624, says, "England was once, yea, lately was, perhaps is still, the most flourishing church under heaven; that I may take up the prophet's words; *the glory of churches, the beauty of excellency.* Isa. xiii, 19. But sectaries were then increasing, and threatening to disturb the peace and unity of the church; that he farther says, "what it may be, what it will be, if we fall still into distractions and various sects, God knows, and it is not hard for men to foresee. Surely, if we grow into that anarchical fashion of independent congregations, which I see, and lament to see, affected by too many, not without woeful success; we are gone, we are lost, in a most miserable confusion: we shall be, as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah; and it shall be with us, as the prophet speaks of proud and glorious Babylon, *the shepherds shall not make their fold there: wild beasts*

* Life of James I. pp. 267, &c.

of the desert shall lie there, and our houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell, and satyrs shall dance there; and the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in our desolate palaces. Isa. xiii, 20, 21. I take no pleasure, God knows, to impute ill to my dear nation, and my dear mother the Church of England; for whose welfare and happiness I could condemn my own life: but I speak in a true sorrow of heart to perceive our danger, and in a zealous precaution to prevent it.* Dr. Hall lived to see this prediction fully accomplished, as it will be seen in the subsequent pages of this volume, and as he himself with his own pen has narrated in his "Account of Himself," and in his "Hard Measure."

It was one of the errors of the times in which Dr. Hall lived, to heap the most fulsome flattery upon the sovereign, and great personages: and it must be recorded that Hall has fallen, as well as his contemporaries, into this then fashionable error. His sermon, entitled, "A HOLY PANEGYRIC," preached at Paul's Cross, upon the anniversary of the inauguration of James I, March 24, 1613, is full of gross adulation, though in other respects an excellent and elegant discourse.

* See Bishop Hall's Works, vol. v, p. 236.

The same adulatory taint is perceivable here and there in some other parts of Dr. Hall's writings. But, that the reader may have a full specimen of this error of the times, we shall here subjoin, as a great curiosity, the funeral sermon of King James I. preached by Dr. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, and Lord Keeper. The sermon is intitled, GREAT BRITAIN'S SOLOMON, and is full of the most gross flattery, and palpable untruths. The text was 1 Kings xi, 41, 42, 43, *And the rest of the words of Solomon, and all that he did, and his wisdom, are they not written in the book of the acts of Solomon? And the time that Solomon reigned in Jerusalem over all Israel was forty years. And Solomon slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David his father.* After having mentioned the text, the preacher begins thus: "Most high and mighty, most honourable, worshipful and well-beloved in our Lord, and Saviour Jesus Christ; it is not I, but this woeful accident that chuseth this text." He proceeds then to consider it as applicable to Solomon; and afterwards compares him and James, "first as it were in one general lump, or mould," says he, "that you may see by the oddness of their proportion, how they differ from all kings besides. And then with a particular examination of the parts of my text, that you may observe by the several members, how well they resemble the one the other.

“ For the bulke or the mould, I dare presume to say, you never read in your lives, of two kings more fully paralleled amongst themselves, and better distinguished from all other kings besides themselves. King Solomon is said to be *unigenitus coram matre sua*, the only son of his mother, Prov. iv, 3. So was king James. Solomon was of a complexion white and ruddy, Cant. v, 10. So was King James. Solomon was an infant king, *puer parvulus*, a little child, 1 Chron. xxii, 5. So was King James, a king at the age of thirteen months. Solomon began his reign in the life of his predecessor, 1 Kings i, 32. So, by the force and compulsion of that state, did our late sovereign King James. Solomon was twice crowned, and anointed a king, 1 Chron. xxix, 22. So was King James. Solomon’s miuority was rough through the quarrels of the former sovereign. So was that of King James. Solomon was learned above all the princes of the east, 1 Kings iv, 30. So was King James above all the princes in the universal world. Solomon was a writer in prose and verse, 1 Kings iv, 32. So in a very pure and exquisite manner was our sweet sovereign King James. Solomon was the greatest patron we ever heard of, to church and churchmen; and yet no greater (let the house of Aaron now confess) than King James. Solomon was a main improver of his home commodities, as you may see in his trading

with Hiram, 1 Kings v, 9; and, God knows it was the daily study of King James. Solomon was a great maintainer of shipping and navigation, 1 Kings x, 14; a most proper attribute to King James. Solomon beautified very much his capital city, with buildings and water-works, 1 Kings ix, 15. So did King James. Every man lived in peace under his vine, and his fig-tree, in the days of Solomon, 1 Kings iv, 25; and so they did in the blessed days of King James. And yet towards his end, King Solomon had secret enemies, Razau, Hadad, and Jeroboam, and prepared for a war upon his going to his grave. So had, and so did King James. Lastly, before any hostile act we read of in the history, King Solomon died in peace, when he had lived about sixty years, and so you know did King James."

The preacher proceeds according to the method of his text, "to polish and refine the members of this statue in their division and particulars." "In his stile," says he, "you may observe the Ecclesiastes, in his figures the Canticles, in his sentences the Proverbs, and in his whole discourse, *reliquum verborum Solomonis*, all the rest that was admirable in the eloquence of Solomon. From his sayings, I come to his doings. *Quæ fecerit*, all that he did. Every action of his sacred majesty was a virtue, and a miracle to exempt him from any parallel amongst the modern kings

and princes. Of all christian kings that ever I read of, he was the most constant patron of churches and churchmen. I will speak it boldly, in the presence here of God and men, that I believe in my soul and conscience, there never lived a more constant, resolute, and settled protestant in point of doctrine, than our late sovereign. Through all Europe, no more question was made of his being just, than of his being king. He was resolute enough, and somewhat too forward in those unapproachable places, (the Highlands,) scattering his enemies as much with his example, as he did with his forces. Besides these adventures of his person, he was unto his people, to the hour of his death, another cherubim with a flaming sword, to keep out enemies from this paradise of ours."

After flourishing upon his political wisdom and learned works, he goes on to let his hearers know, "that as he lived like a king, so he died like a saint. All his latter days he spent in prayer, sending his thoughts before into heaven, to be the harbingers of his happy soul. Some four days before his end, he desired to receive the blessed sacrament, and said he was prepared for it by faith and charity. He repeated the articles of the creed, and after the absolution had been read and pronounced, he received the sacrament with that zeal and devotion, as if he had not been

a frail man, but a cherubim clothed with flesh and blood, he twice or thrice repeated *Domine Jesu, veni cito*; and after the prayer usually said at the hour of death was ended, his lords and servants kneeling, without any pangs or convulsions at all, *dormivit Solomon*, Solomon slept. And his soul, severed from the dregs of the body, doth now enjoy an eternal dreaming in the presence of God, environed no more with lords and knights, but with troops of Angels, and the souls of the blessed, called in this text his fore-runners or fathers; *and Solomon slept with his fathers.*"*

This was the character given of King James I. before an auditory, who must have known him well:—every reader must think it nothing else but a panegyrical harangue, full of adulation and exaggeration.

At the convocation cotemporary with the parliament in the year 1623-4, Feb. 20, Dr. Hall preached a Latin Sermon in St. Paul's cathedral. The title of the sermon is *Noah's dove bringing an olive of peace to the tossed Ark of Christ's church*. The text is 1 Cor. xii, 4. *There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; there are diversities of ministers, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but the same God.*

* Harris's Life of James I. pp. 288-291.

This sermon was composed and written in elegant and pure Latin, and was translated into English by Dr. Hall's eldest son, Robert: "it pleased my father," says the son, herein to improve my leisure; wherein howsoever I may have somewhat failed of the first elegance, yet I have not been far short of the sense." Prefixed to this sermon are some commendatory Latin verses, by Dr. Goad, chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

On St. Stephen's day, 1623, Dr. Hall preached from Hag. ii, 9, "at the solemn reconciling" of the restored and re-edified chapel of St. John's in the house of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Exeter in Clerkenwell. This chapel was repaired by Lady Elizabeth Drury, Countess of Exeter, to whom Dr. Hall dedicated his sermon on the occasion, and to whose family of the Drurys he was indebted for his first patronage.*

* Bishop Hall's Works, vol. v, p. 146.

* This chapel was on the site of the ruined choir of the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem; "a place," says Fuller, in his *Ch. Hist.* b. vi, pp. 357, 360, "in a pitiful plight, when the hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem were first restored by Queen Mary; for the bell tower of the church was undermined and blown up with gun-powder, that the stones thereof might build Somerset-house in the Strand."

Jordan Bisset, a pious and wealthy man, who died Nov. 15, 1110, and was buried in the Chapter House of this Priory, was the founder of it. He built an house for the Knight's Hospi-

When the parliament met, Feb. 6, 1626, a committee of religion was appointed, of which Mr. Pym was the chairman, with the view of examining once more Mr. Montague's *Gag, Appeal*, and his *Treatise of the Invocation of the Saints*; out of these works they collected several opinions contrary to the articles and homilies of the church. But after all, Mr. Montague was not brought to his trial; King Charles I. intimated his displeasure at the proceedings of the commons,

talers of St. John of Jerusalem, which was improved into the stateliness of a palace, and had a very beautiful church with a high tower so neatly carried up, that while it stood, it was a singular ornament to the city. The Knight's Hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem, were instituted about the time Geoffrey of Boulogne had recovered Jerusalem. They wore a white cross upon their upper black garment, and by solemn profession were bound to serve pilgrims and poor people in the hospital of St. John, and to secure the passages thither: they charitably buried the dead, were continual in prayer, mortified themselves with watchings and fastings, were courteous and kind to the poor, whom they called their masters, and fed with white bread, while they lived themselves on brown, and practised great austerity. At first they were but poor; for their piety and bravery in war, their condition was much changed through the bounty of good princes and private persons, that they became to abound in every thing. For about the year 1240 they had nineteen thousand Lordships or Manors within Christendom, as the Templars had nine thousand, whose revenues here in England fell also afterwards to the Hospitalers. This vast increase of revenues made them so effectual a passage to great honors, that their Prior was reckoned the first Baron of England, and lived in great state and plenty, till the dissolution of religious houses by Henry VIII. See Camden's *Britannia*, p. 321-2, fol. ed. 1695, and "Magna Britannia," vol. iii, p. 58, ed. 1724.

and that he would take the cause into his own hands. Many books were written against Mr. Montague, by Dr. Carleton, Bishop of Chichester, Dr. Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, Dr. Featley, and many others. After all, the differences were rather increased than diminished. The points of controversy became so much the subject of public discussion, that his Majesty issued a proclamation, prohibiting to preach or dispute upon the points in controversy between the Calvinists and Arminians, and threatening to proceed against all who should maintain any opinions contrary to the doctrines established by law.

The Church of England was now sick of the Belgic disease: "I mean," says Dr. Hall, "the distemper arising from the difference about the five controverted Articles of the Netherlands. The pulpits and presses laboured of it, in much extremity: it pleased wise and judicious sovereignty, upon knowledge of the woeful effects which had followed those unhappy controversies abroad, to give charge, that those questions should not be further stirred in, whether in sermons or writings; and the articles of the Church of England should be the just limits of all our public discourse in this kind." It appears that this royal declaration had a good effect, for he proceeds to say, "and what a calm followed

upon this prudent declaration, our fresh memory can abundantly testify."*

Dr. Hall was inclined to be moderate in the controverted five points. During the broils and disputes about the dogmas of Calvin and Arminius at the end of James I.'s reign, and the commencement of that of Charles I. Dr. Hall wrote and published his treatise upon the subject, under the title of *Via Media, the way of peace*. This excellent tractate was published in the reign of King James, and probably previous to his Majesty's injunctions, set forth in August 1622, against meddling with the controverted points, as it appears from the dedication "to the king's most excellent majesty," prefixed to *Via Media*, where the author implores his "Majesty's seasonable prevention," of the impending storm. "I see," says he, "every man ready to rank himself unto a side, and to draw in the quarrel he affecteth; I see no man thrusting himself between them, and either holding or joining their hands for peace." The design of Dr. Hall in this treatise, is to attempt pacifying and healing the violent and extreme dissensions, which then so greatly disturbed the peace of the church. It evinces the "excellent moderation" of Dr. Hall "in those

* Bishop Hall's Works, vol. viii, p. 97.

unhappy disputes. He here collects from the writings of Bishop Overall on the one side, and of the English divines at the Synod of Dort on the other side, such propositions or arguments respecting the five controversial points, upon which both sides agree. This "collection of accorded truths," he presented to his Majesty, "together with an humble motion of a peaceable silence to be enjoined to both parts, in those other collateral and needless disquisitions." Many divines, and even Mr. Montague himself, offered readily to subscribe them; so that peace would have been likely to be obtained, "had not the confused noise of the misconstruction of those who never saw the work, crying it down for the *very name's sake*," and his Majesty's prohibition above mentioned, "buried it in a secure silence."

This admirable tractate breathes the very sentiments of our church, and is well adapted to allay the disputes about the Arminian and Calvinistic points, which have too much disturbed the peace of the religious world to this very day. With respect to the controverted points, Dr. Hall says, "what place soever these differences have found in foreign schools and pulpits, ours have reason to be free: if we shall listen to that wise and moderate voice of our church, that men are so stirred and moved by grace that they may, if they attend thereunto, obey the grace, which

calleth and moveth them ; and that they may, by their free will also resist it ; but, withal that God, when he will, and to whom he will, gives such an abundant, such powerful, such congruous, otherwise effectual grace, that, although the will may in respect of the liberty thereof resist ; yet it resists not, but doth certainly and infallibly obey ; and that thus God deals with those, whom he hath chosen in Christ, so far as shall be necessary to their salvation." And, again, " my brethren," says he, " let our care be to study and to preach Christ and him crucified : to work the souls of men to faith, repentance, piety, justice, charity, temperance, and other heavenly virtues ; that they may find cordial testimonies in themselves, of their happy predestination to life, and their infallible interest in the precious blood of their redeemer. Let us beat down those sins in them, which make them obnoxious to everlasting damnation, and strip them of all comfortable assurances of the favor of God. Let us not undiscreeetly spend our time and pains, in distracting their thoughts with those scholastic disquisitions, whereof the knowledge or ignorance makes nothing to heaven. The way to blessedness is not so short, that we should find leisure to make outroads into needless and unprofitable speculations. Never treatise could be more necessary, in this curious and quarrelsome age, than *De paucitate credendorum*.

The infinite subdivisions of those points, which we advance to the honour of being the objects of our belief, confound our thoughts and mar our peace. Peaceable discourse may have much latitude, but matter of faith should have narrow bounds. If, in the other, men will abound in their own sense, always let unity of spirit be held in the bond of peace. Since God hath given us change of raiment and variety of all intellectual provisions, as Joseph said to his brethren, let me to mine, *Let us not fall out by the way.* Now, by the dear bonds of brotherhood, by our love to our common mother, the church, by our holy care and zeal of the prosperous success of the gospel of our Lord Jesus, let us all compose our hearts to peace; and rest ourselves in those common truths, which sober minds shall find abundantly sufficient, whether for our knowledge or salvation." *

* See this excellent Tractate, called *Via Media*, in vol. ix. of the Bishop's Works.

CHAPTER III.

The Bishop continues his narrative:—

“Immediately before the publishing of this tractate (which did not a little aggravate the envy and suspicion,) I was by his Majesty raised to the bishoprick of Exeter; having formerly, with much humble deprecation, refused the see of Gloucester earnestly proffered unto me. How, beyond all expectation, it pleased God to place me in that western charge; which, if the Duke of Buckingham’s letters, he being then in France, had arrived but some hours sooner, I had been defeated of; and, by what strange means it pleased God to make up the competency of that provison, by the unthought-of addition of the rectory of St. Breok * within that diocese: if I should fully relate the circumstances, would force

* The living of St. Breok, in Cornwall, according to Dr. Walker, was then worth about £300, a year. *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part ii, p. 24.

the confession of an extraordinary hand of God in the disposing of those events.

“I entered upon that place, not without much prejudice and suspicion on some hands: for some, that sat at the stern of the Church, had me in great jealousy for too much favor of Puritanism. I soon had intelligence who were set over me for espials. My ways were curiously observed and scanned. However, I took the resolution to follow those courses which might most conduce to the peace and happiness of my new and weighty charge. Finding, therefore, some factious spirits very busy in that diocese, I used all fair and gentle means to win them to good order; and therein so happily prevailed, that, saving two of that numerous clergy who continuing in their refractoriness fled away from censure, they were all perfectly reclaimed: so as I had not one minister professedly opposite to the anciently received orders (for I was never guilty of urging any new impositions) of the church in that large diocese.

“Thus we went on comfortably together, till some persons of note in the clergy, being guilty of their own negligence and disorderly courses, began to envy our success; and, finding me ever ready to encourage those whom I found conscientiously forward and painful in their places, and willingly giving way to orthodox and peaceable

lectures in several parts of my diocese, opened their mouths against me, both obliquely in the pulpit and directly at the court; complaining of my too much diligence to persons disaffected, and my too much liberty of frequent lecturings within my charge. The billows went so high, that I was three several times upon my knee to his Majesty, to answer these great criminations: and what contestation I had with some great lords concerning these particulars, it would be too long to report; only this; under how dark a cloud I was hereupon I was so sensible, that I plainly told the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, that, rather than I would be obnoxious to those slanderous tongues of his misinformers, I would cast up my rochet.* I knew I went right ways, and would not endure to live under undeserved suspicions.

“What messages of caution I had from some of my wary brethren, and what expostulatory letters I had from above, I need not relate. Sure I am, I had peace and comfort at home, in the happy sense of that general unanimity and loving correspondence of my clergy, till, in the last year of my presiding there, after the synodical oath was set on foot (which yet I did never tender to

* *White garment*; he means his episcopal dress.

any one minister of my diocese) by the incitation of some busy interlopers of the neighbour county; some of them began to enter into an unkind contestation with me about the election of clerks of the convocation; whom they secretly, without ever acquainting me with their desire or purpose, as driving to that end which we see now accomplished, would needs nominate and set up in competition to those whom I had, after the usual form, recommended to them. That they had a right to free voices in that choice, I denied not: only I had reason to take it unkindly that they would work underhand, without me, and against me; professing, that, if they had beforehand made their desires known to me, I should willingly have gone along with them in their election. It came to the poll. Those of my nomination carried it.

“The parliament begun. After some hard tugging there, returning home on a recess, I was met on the way and cheerfully welcomed with some hundreds.

“In no worse terms I left that my once dear diocese: when, returning to Westminster, I was soon called by his Majesty, who was then in the North, to a remove to Norwich.

“But how I took the Tower in my way, and how I have been dealt with since my repair hither, I could be lavish in the sad report; ever

desiring my good God to enlarge my heart in thankfulness to him for the sensible experience I have had of his fatherly hand over me in the deepest of all my afflictions, and to strengthen me for whatsoever other trials he shall be pleased to call me unto; that, being found faithful unto the death, I may obtain that crown of life which he hath ordained for all those that overcome."

Thus closes the Bishop's "Account of some specialities in his own life."—We shall now revert to some parts of the Narrative which other sources of information enable us to fill up, where the writer's modesty had rendered him more brief than could have been wished.

By the death of Dr. Miles Smith, bishop of Gloucester,* in the year 1624, that bishopric being vacant, was offered to Dr. Hall, then dean of Worcester: he was earnestly pressed to accept that charge; but, "with much humble deprecation," he refused it. However, three years after, 1627, he was promoted by his Majesty to the bishopric of Exeter, void by the death of Dr. Valentine Cary, who had been careful of his charge, and presided over that see about six years; but

* Dr. Miles Smith was one of the translators of the Bible, and wrote the Preface to it.

he resided very little in his palace at Exeter, on account of the plague which raged very much there in his time. Dr. Hall was consecrated December 23, and was allowed to hold with his bishopric *in commendam*, the rectory of St. Breok in Cornwall. At the time he was elevated to the See of Exeter, he had the misfortune to be misunderstood by several well-meaning but over-zealous protestants, in defending the church of England against the attacks of some papists. Soon after he was made bishop, he published his Treatise entitled *The Old Religion*, in which he exposes the corruptions and errors of the church of Rome, and ably vindicates the church of England. But some, through envy or ignorance, unjustly accused him of remissness, and of giving his popish adversaries the advantage of the contest, in allowing the church of Rome to be a *true visible church*, though a corrupt and an unsound one. In vindication of himself, he wrote *An Apologetical Advertisement*, wherein he explains his views of the Roman church, and refutes the calumny of his changing his sentiments upon his promotion, and also repels the charge of inconstancy: with respect to this, he says, "though, while we are here in this region of mutability, our whole man is subject to change, yet we do all herein affect a likeness to the God of truth, *in whom there is no shadow of turning*

especially in religion, so much more as that doth more assimilate and unite us to that unchangeable Deity.* He states, that what he wrote then, was the same in substance with what he had written near twenty years before: "how," says he, "doth the addition of a dignity bring envy upon the same truth? might that pass commendably from the pen or tongue of a Doctor, which will not be endured from the hand of a Bishop? my brethren, I am where I was, the change is yours."† Envious clamour and prejudice against him did not abate, but he was compelled further to vindicate himself, by another Treatise, entitled, *The Reconciler*, being a pacificatory Letter addressed to the Earl of Norwich. After stating fully and clearly his view of *the seeming differences of opinion, concerning the trueness and visibility of the Roman Church*, Bishop Hall says, "Alas, my Lord, I see, and grieve to see it: it is my Rochet (episcopal habit) that hath offended, and not I: in another habit, I long since published this, and more, without dislike: it is this colour of innocence that hath bleared some over-tender eyes. Wherein I know not whether I should more pity their error, or applaud my own sufferings. Although I may not say with the Psalmist, *What hath the righteous*

* Works, vol. ix, p. 301.

† Works, vol. ix, p. 303.

done? - Let me, I beseech your Lordship, upon this occasion, have leave to give a little vent to my just grief in this point.

“The other day I fell upon a Latin pamphlet, homely for style, tedious for length, zealously uncharitable for stuff; wherein the author (only wise in this, that he would be unknown) in a grave fierceness flies in the face of our English prelacy; not so much inveighing against their persons, which he could be content to reverence, as their very places. I bless myself to see the case so altered. Heretofore, the person had wont to bear off many blows from the function: now the very function wounds the person. In what case are we, when that, which should command respect, brands us! What black art hath raised up this spirit of *Ærius* from his pit? Woe is me, that zeal should breed such monsters of conceit! It is the honour, the pomp, the wealth, the pleasure, he saith, of the episcopal chair, that is guilty of the depravation of our calling; and, if himself were so overlaid with greatness, he should suspect his own fidelity. Alas, poor man, at what distance doth he see us! Foggy air useth to represent every object far bigger than it is. Our Saviour, in his temptation upon the mount, had only the glory of those kingdoms shewed to him by that subtle Spirit; not the cares and vexations: right so are our dignities exhibited

to these envious beholders: little do these men see the toils and anxieties that attend this supposedly-pleasing eminence.

“All the revenge, that I would wish to this uncharitable censurer, should be this, that he might be but for a while adjudged to this so glorious seat of mine; that so his experience might taste the bewitching pleasures of this envied greatness; he should well find more danger of being overspent with work, than of languishing with ease and delicacy. For me, I need not appeal to heaven: eyes enough can witness, how few free hours I have enjoyed, since I put on these robes of sacred honour. Insomuch as I could find in my heart, with holy Gregory, to complain of my change; were it not, that I see these public troubles are so many acceptable services to my God, whose glory is the end of my being. Certainly, my Lord, if none but earthly respects should sway me, I should heartily wish to change this palace, which the providence of God and the bounty of my gracious Sovereign hath put me into, for my quiet cell at Waltham, where I had so sweet leisure to enjoy God, your Lordship, and myself. But I have followed the calling of my God, to whose service I am willingly sacrificed; and must now, in a holy obedience to his Divine Majesty, with what cheerfulness I may, ride out all the storms of envy, which unavoida-

bly will alight upon the least appearance of a conceived greatness. In the mean time, whatever I may seem to others, I was never less in my own apprehensions; and, where it not for this attendance of envy, could not yield myself any whit greater than I was."*

The above quotation very particularly portrays the mind of Bishop Hall, when he was harassed by envy and calumny, and his sacred function so uncharitably attacked. Upon the misrepresentation of his opinion respecting the visibility of the church of Rome, Bishop Hall consulted Bishop Morton, Bishop Davenant, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Primrose, &c. and requested each of them to express their sentiments concerning the point in dispute. They unanimously concurred with Bishop Hall's view of the subject: so that the Treatise, entitled the *Reconciler*, was seconded with the letters of the above learned and sound divines, "whose indubitable authority," says Bishop Hall, "was able to bear down calumny itself. Which done, I did by a seasonable moderation provide for the peace of the church, in silenc-

* Works, vol. ix, pp. 315, 316.—This may be reckoned a correct and fair representation of the general condition of the Bishops of the Church of England: the weighty and anxious cares of their vocation are better known to themselves than to others.

ing both my defendants and challengers, in this unkind and ill-raised quarrel.”*

We learn from Bishop Hall's dedication of his Treatise entitled *The Old Religion*, to the diocese of Exeter, that during the time of the late vacancy, papists had taken the advantage to disseminate “the tares of errors” among the people: he therefore expressed his resolution, and faithfully vowed his utmost endeavours to reform and prevent all sins of practice, and errors of doctrine: “I shall labour against the first, by preaching, example, and censures: against the latter, my pen hath risen up in this early assault.” He affectionately recommended to his clergy to lead their flocks to *the tender pastures*, and to *the still waters*: “by the one,” says he, “I mean the inuring of our people to the principles of wholesome doctrine; by the other, an immunity from all faction and disturbance of the public peace.” He then proceeded strongly to recommend catechizing. “It was,” says he, “the observation of the learnedest king that ever sat hitherto in the English throne, that the cause of the miscarriage of our people into popery and other errors, was their ungroundedness in the points of catechism.

* A suspicion of leaning towards popery was attached at that time to all who favoured episcopacy. But, it is evident from the whole tenor of Bishop Hall's works, and the general course of his life, that nothing was more abhorrent to his soul,

How should those souls be but carried about with every wind of doctrine, that are not well ballasted with solid informations? Whence it was that his said late Majesty, of happy memory, gave public order for bestowing the latter part of God's day in familiar catechizing, than which, nothing could be devised more necessary and behoveful to the souls of men. It was the ignorance and ill-disposedness of some cavillers, that taxed this course as prejudicial to preaching; since, in truth, the most useful of all preaching is catechetical. This lays the grounds; the other raiseth the walls and roof. This informs the judgment: that stirs up the affections. What good use is there of those affections, that run before the judgment? or of those walls, that want a foundation? For my part, I have spent the *greater half of my life* in this station of our holy service; I thank God, not unpainfully, not unprofitably.* But there is no one thing, whereof I repent so much, as not to have bestowed more hours in this public exercise of catechism. In regard whereof I could quarrel with my very sermons, and wish that a great part of them had been exchanged for this preaching conference.†

* Fuller says, in his *Worthies of England*, that Hall's little Catechism had done great good in the populous parish of Waltham; "and I could wish," says he, "that ordinance more generally used all over England."

† Works, vol. ix, pp. 224, 225.

These remarks on catechizing are worthy of the attention of every Christian Minister, as they come from such high authority, as Bishop Hall, who spent so large a portion of his life in this exercise, and who must have seen and experienced its beneficial effects. Undoubtedly it is, in a great measure, owing to the neglect of catechizing that so many erroneous doctrines and unscriptural opinions prevail in the religious world: it was so in Bishop Hall's time, when he said, "we see catechizing of children, than which nothing can be conceived more profitable and necessary in God's church, is grown utterly out of fashion. And what woeful distractions of opinions, what horrible paradoxes of contradiction to the Articles of Christian faith, have been and are daily broached to the world, what good heart can but tremble to consider? Certainly, it was not without great reason, that our wise and learned King James, of blessed memory, when complaint was made to him of the growth of popery in his time, returned answer, that all this was for the want of catechizing; for, surely, if the younger sort were soundly seasoned with true knowledge of the grounds of religion, they could not be so easily *carried away with every wind of doctrine.*" *

* Bishop Hall's Works, vol. ix, pp. 780, 808.

Bishop Hall, at his first entering upon this new dignity, met with much vexation and uneasiness: he was not only suspected of favouring popery, when he was made a bishop, but there were persons disposed to charge him with puritanism.*

About the time Bishop Hall was promoted to the see of Exeter, a scheme was formed by several gentlemen and clergy, to promote preaching in the country, by setting up lectures in market towns. They erected themselves into a kind of a corporation, and by voluntary contributions, purchased what impropriations they could meet with in lay hands; the profits of which were to be divided into salaries to these lecturers. The trustees had laid out between five and six thousand pounds in the purchasing of impropriations. The design at first was looked upon by most people as very laudable; but as it was found that the preachers had not those salaries for their lives, but were entirely dependent on the good will and humour of their patrons, who were considered as not very well affected to the established church, and as most of the lecturers were either non-conformists, or

* See above, p. 113.

such as had been silenced for refusing to subscribe the articles. Bishop Laud looked on these proceedings with an evil eye, and represented them to the king, as a conspiracy against the church. An information was therefore brought against the trustees, by Mr. Attorney-General Noy, as an unlawful society formed into a body corporate, without any grant from the king, and it was decreed, that the impropriations should be confiscated to the king, and the trustees fined in the Star-Chamber:—but, however, the prosecution for some reasons was dropt, as it ultimately appeared, that the trustees already were out of pocket above a thousand pounds in this business.

The puritans thought this an odious prosecution, and exclaimed against the bishops as designing to introduce Arminianism and Popery into the church. The violences, which should justly have been ascribed to the circumstances of the time, were unhappily imputed to the Church of England; whilst Bishop Laud, and others, who had great credit with the king, were continually representing to him all those as puritans, who were not entirely submissive to the regal power, and were using against them severities in the High Commission, and Star Chamber, very unbecoming the spirit of Christianity. Thus the

breach grew wider daily between the king and the puritans ; and after the death of Archbishop Abbot, Bishop Laud was advanced into the primacy : the breach still widened through this Primate's intolérance, till it ended in his own destruction, and that of the king, and the Church of England.

But some persons charged Bishop Hall with too much indulgence of lecturings in his diocese : these adversaries of the bishop were some clergy of note, " guilty of negligence, and of disorderly courses," and who envied his success, finding him always ready to encourage conscientious and laborious clergymen, and promoting orthodox and peaceable lectures in various parts of his diocese. We have already seen (p. 114) how he met these complaints.

In these troubles and vexations of Bishop Hall, the reader may perceive the persecuting spirit of Archbishop Laud, who had his spies in every quarter to find out those who were *puritanically* inclined. Because Bishop Hall was, and always had been a diligent preacher himself, and a great encourager of preaching, and promoted regular lectures in his diocese, he must be reckoned a too great favourer of puritanism ! He must be therefore complained of to his sovereign, and nearly be compelled to give up his episcopal function !

Undoubtedly such men as Archbishop Laud, when placed at the helm of ecclesiastical affairs, have been the cause of very much harm to the Christian church. Such circumstances must have made the assuming the government of the see of Exeter extremely difficult to Bishop Hall; but by his prudent measures, and mild, unaffected behaviour, he soon obtained the confidence and affections of his numerous clergy. The reader is referred to the affecting "Account of Himself," and to his "Letter from the Tower," wherein his character is truly delineated, and the unjust charges of all his adversaries refuted. Our historians have blamed Bishop Hall, Archbishop Usher, Bishop Prideaux, Bishop Brownrigge, and some others, for their moderation, as giving the disaffected in those times some advantage against the established church. But such accusations were generally made by those who were of high church principles, and were disposed to carry their own rigid views to an extreme. Bishop Hall has been accused very undeservedly of favoring any irregularity in the church: he invariably used his moderation in order to win over the enemies of the church. While engaged in controversy, he always conducted himself with such spirit and temper, that his antagonists could not but allow, that he acted from love to them

and to the truth. If therefore, on any occasion, his Christian moderation was made a wrong use of, it should not be imputed as a fault to him, but to those who abused it.

As soon as Dr. Laud was made Archbishop of Canterbury, there was one thing in particular advised by him, which very justly gave great offence to all serious people in the church and out of it. The occasion of it was this. A complaint having been made to the Lord Chief Justice Richardson, and Baron Denham, in their Western circuit, of the great inconvenience arising from *revels, sports, church ales, and clerk ales*,* on Sundays: the two judges, at the request of the justices of the peace, made an order for suppressing these occasions of riot and debauchery on the Lord's day, and enjoined every parish minister to publish this order yearly in his church, the first Sunday in February, and the two Sundays before Easter. Upon the return of the circuit, the judges punished some few persons for

* *Church ales* were, when the people went from afternoon prayers on Sunday to their sports and pastimes in the church yard, or in some other place, as a public house, where they drank and made merry.

Clerk ales were so called, because they were for the benefit of the parish clerk: the people used to send him provisions, and then come on a certain Sunday, and feasted with him, by which means he used to sell a great quantity of ale, the profits of which aided his salary.

their disobedience of their order. The Archbishop, being informed of this proceeding of the two judges, complained to the king of their invading the episcopal jurisdiction, and prevailed on his Majesty to summon them before the Council. When they appeared, Richardson pleaded that the order was made at the request and unanimous consent of the bench of justices, and justified it by producing precedents in the two foregoing reigns, as well as the present.* But all he could say signified nothing; he was sharply reprimanded, and enjoined to revoke the order at the next assizes, which he did contrary to his inclinations, as well as those of all good men, who could not but think such revels, sports, &c. on the sabbath-day, dishonourable to God, and extremely prejudicial to his Majesty and the country. This circumstance almost broke the judge's heart, for when he came out of the Council Chamber, he told the Earl of Dorset, with tears in his eyes, "that he had been miserably shaken by the Archbishop, and was like to be choaked with his lawn-sleeves."

The primate having thus humbled the judge,

* Eliz. 38, Sep. 10, the justices assembled at Bridgwater ordered that no *church ale*, *clerk ale*, or *bid ale*, be suffered. Signed by Popham, Lord Chief Justice, and ten others. The same order was repeated 1599, and Eliz. 41; and again at Exeter, 1615, Jac. 13, and Anno 1627.

and taken this affair into his own hands, prevailed on his Majesty to republish his father's declaration of the year 1618, "concerning lawful sports to be used on Sundays after divine service." This was called *the Book of Sports*. This infamous declaration for sports on the sabbath day was republished, Oct. 18, 1633, *with additions or improvements*. As this *Book of Sports* is so frequently mentioned by writers, in order to satisfy the curiosity of the reader, and that he might be able to judge of its *merits*, I have here annexed a copy of it: it was to this effect:—

"That king James, of blessed memory, in his return from Scotland, coming through Lancashire, found that his subjects were debarred from lawful recreations upon Sundays, after evening-prayers ended, and upon holydays. And he prudently considered, that if these times were taken from them, the meaner sort, who labour hard all the week, should have no recreations at all to refresh their spirits. And, after his return, he further saw, that his loyal subjects, in all other parts of his kingdom, did suffer in the same kind, though perhaps not in the same degree; and did therefore, in his princely wisdom, publish a declaration to all his loving subjects, concerning lawful sports to be used at such times, which was printed and published by his royal command^L

ment, in the year 1618, in the tenor which hereafter followeth:—

“Whereas, upon his Majesty’s return last year out of Scotland, he did publish his pleasure, touching the recreations of his people in those parts, under his hand. For some causes him thereunto moving, hath thought good to command these his directions, then given in Lancashire, with a few words thereunto added, and most applicable to these parts of the realm, to be published to all his subjects.

“Whereas he did justly, in his progress through Lancashire, rebuke some puritans and precise people: and took order, that the like unlawful carriage should not be used by any of them hereafter, in the prohibiting and unlawful punishing of his good people, for using their lawful recreations, and honest exercises, upon Sundays, and other holidays, after the afternoon sermon or service. His Majesty hath now found, that two sorts of people, wherewith that country is much infected, viz. papists and puritans, hath maliciously traduced and calumniated those his just and honourable proceedings: and therefore, lest his reputation might, upon the one side, (though innocently,) have some aspersion laid upon it; and that, upon the other part, his good people in that country be misled by the mistaking and

misinterpretation of his meaning, his Majesty hath therefore thought good hereby to clear and make his pleasure to be manifested to all his good people in those parts.

“ It is true, that, at his first entry to this crown and kingdom, he was informed, and that truly, that his county of Lancashire abounded more in popish recusants than any county of England, and thus hath still continued since, to his great regret, with little amendment; save that, now of late, in his last riding through his said county, hath found, both by the report of the judges and of the bishop of that diocese, that there is some amendment now daily beginning, which is no small contentment to his Majesty. The report of this growing amendment amongst them, made his Majesty the more sorry, when, with his own ears, he heard the general complaint of his people, that they were debarred from all lawful recreations and exercise upon the Sundays’ afternoon, after the ending of all divine service, which cannot but produce two evils: the one, the hindering the conversion of many, whom their priests will take occasion hereby to vex, persuading them that no honest mirth or recreation is lawful or tolerable in the religion which the king professeth, and which cannot but breed a great discontentment in his people’s hearts, especially of such as are, peradventure, upon the point of turning.

The other inconvenience is, that this prohibition barreth the common and meaner sort of people from using such exercises as may make their bodies more able for war, when his Majesty or his successors shall have occasion to use them ; and in place thereof, sets up tippling and filthy drunkenness, and breeds a number of idle and discontented speeches in their alehouses. For when shall the common people have leave to exercise, if not upon the Sundays and holidays, seeing that they must apply their labour, and win their living, in all working days ?

“ The king’s express pleasure therefore is, that the laws of this kingdom, and canons of the church, be as well observed in that county, as in all other places of this his kingdom. And, on the other hand, that no lawful recreation shall be barred to his good people, which shall not tend to the breach of the aforesaid laws and canons of his church ; which, to express more particularly his Majesty’s pleasure, is, that the bishops, and all other inferior churchmen, and churchwardens, shall, for their parts, be careful and diligent, both to instruct the ignorant, and convince and reform them that are misled in religion ; presenting them that will not conform themselves, but obstinately stand out, to the judges and justices, whom he likewise commands to put the laws in due execution against them.

“His Majesty’s pleasure likewise is, that the bishop of the diocese take the like strict order with all the puritans and precisians within the same: either constrain them to conform themselves, or to leave the country, according to the laws of this kingdom, and canons of this church, and so to strike equally on both hands against the contemners of his authority, and adversaries of the church. And as for his good people’s lawful recreation, his pleasure likewise is, that, after the end of divine service, his good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation; such as dancing, either men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreations; nor from having of May-games, Whitsun-ales, and Moricedances, and the setting up of May-poles, and other sports therewith used; so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of divine service. And that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church, for the decorating of it, according to their old custom. But withal his Majesty doth hereby account still as prohibited, all unlawful games to be used upon Sundays only, as bear and bull-baitings, interludes, and, at all times, in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited, bowling.

“And likewise bars from this benefit and

liberty, all such known recusants, either men or women, as will abstain from coming to church or divine service; being therefore unworthy of any lawful recreation after the said service, that will not first come to the church and serve God: prohibiting in like sort the said recreations to any that, though conform in religion, are not present in the church at the service of God, before their going to the said recreations. His pleasure likewise is, that they, to whom it belongeth in office, shall present and sharply punish all such as, in abuse of this his liberty, will use these exercises before the end of all divine services for that day. And he doth likewise straightly command, that every person shall resort to his own parish-church to hear divine service, and each parish by itself to use the said recreation after divine service: prohibiting likewise any offensive weapons to be carried, or used, in the same times of recreation. And his pleasure is, that this his declaration shall be published, by order from the bishop of the diocese, through all the parish churches; and that both the judges of the circuits, and the justices of the peace, be informed thereof.

“ Given at the manor of Greenwich, the 24th of May, in the 16th year of his Majesty's reign, of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland, the one and fiftieth.”

“ Now out of a like pious care for the service of God, and for suppressing of any humours that oppose truth, and for the ease, comfort, and recreation of his well-deserving people, his Majesty doth ratify and publish this his blessed father's declaration; the rather, because of late, in some counties of this kingdom, his Majesty finds that, under pretence of taking away abuses, there hath been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary meetings, but of the feasts of the dedication of the churches, commonly called Wakes. Now his Majesty's express will and pleasure is, that these feasts, with others, shall be observed; and that his justices of the peace, in their several divisions, shall look to it, both that all disorders there may be prevented or punished, and that all neighbourhood and freedom with manlike and lawful exercises, be used. And for this his Majesty further commands all justices of assize, in their several circuits, to see that no man do trouble or molest any of his loyal and dutiful people, in or for their lawful recreations, having first done their duty to God, and continuing in obedience to his Majesty's laws. And for this his Majesty commands all his judges, justices of peace, as well within liberties as without, majors, bailiffs, constables, and other officers, to take notice of, and to see observed, as they tender his displeasure. And doth further will, that pub-

lication of this his command be made, by order from the bishops, through all the parish churches of their several dioceses respectively.

“ Given at the palace of Westminster, the 18th day of October, in the ninth year of his reign.

“ God save the King.”

The publication of this declaration for sports on the Lord's day, was to be by order from the bishops, through all the parish churches of their respective dioceses. This opened a flood-gate to all manner of licentiousness among the populace, and became the means of unspeakable oppression to a great number of worthy clergymen. The ruling prelates, though unauthorized by law, required the clergy to read it publicly before the congregation: and those clergy who refused, felt the iron rod of oppression, suspension, deprivation, &c. It struck the sober part of the nation with horror, to see themselves invited by the authority of the king and church, to that which seemed so contrary to the *command* of God. It was certainly out of character for bishops and clergymen, who should support and encourage religion, to draw men off from the practice of it, by inviting them to public sports and pastimes upon the day which God himself

has commanded mankind to *remember to keep holy*. Such were the *piety* and *wisdom* of these times ! The court had their balls, masquerades, and plays, on the Sunday evenings ; whilst the country people were at their revels, morrice-dances, May-games, church-ales, and all kinds of diversion.

The bishops were ordered to take care of its publication in all parish churches. Archbishop Laud knew it would distress the puritans, and would tend to purify the church of a set of men, for whom he had a perfect aversion. The imposing this declaration to be published by the clergy was a great hardship, and was the cause of sad havoc amongst them for above seven years. Many poor clergymen strained their consciences in submission to their superiors. Some after publishing it, immediately read the fourth commandment to the people, *Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy* ; adding, “ *This is the law of God ; the other, the injunction of man.* ” Great numbers refused to comply at all to read the declaration. Fuller says, “ that the archbishop’s moderation in his own diocese was remarkable, silencing but three, in whom also was a concurrence of other non-conformities ; but that his adversaries imputed it not to his charity, but policy, *fox-like*, preying farthest from his own

den, and instigating other bishops to do more than he would appear in himself."*

A great number of clergymen were, during the space of about seven years, silenced, suspended, and deprived of their livings for refusing to read the *book of sports*. It would be too tedious to relate in this volume all the particulars of the suspensions, deprivations, and other persecutions in the High Commission Court for not reading it.

When we consider that Charles I. has been represented as remarkable for his piety, and the diligent performance of the external acts of religion, "setting a pattern to others in what related to the worship and service of Almighty God;" it would be hardly credible, did not historians unanimously concur in recording the fact, that he should revive the declaration of his father concerning sports on the Lord's day, and discountenance such as were for a strict observance of it. But so it was; and the charge of republishing this declaration is a great blemish in the character of Charles I, though undoubtedly, he was instigated and recommended to do it by Archbishop Laud. The public licence and encouragement of sports and diversions, after divine

* Ch. Hist. b. xi, p. 148.

service on Sundays, was a thing of ill report, destructive to the morals of the common people, and even contrary to a statute made in this reign. 1 Caroli, c. 1.* It tended to efface any good impressions received in the worship of God, and it was so inconsistent with the petition or prayer subjoined in the Liturgy to the fourth commandment—*Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law!* It therefore left a bad impression on the minds of the people, with respect to the king's regard to religion and morality; especially since his Majesty made use of the liberty he gave to his subjects. He scrupled not giving a masquerade on a Sunday:† and it must be allowed that it

* It was the only act relating to religion, which his Majesty passed in the Parliament of 1625, and was entitled, *An Act to prevent unlawful Pastimes on the Lord's day*. The preamble sets forth, That the holy keeping of the Lord's day is a principal part of the true service of God—"Therefore it is enacted, that there shall be no assemblies of people out of their own parishes, for any sports or pastimes whatsoever; nor any bear-baiting, bull-baiting, interludes, common plays, or other unlawful exercises or pastimes, within their own parishes, on forfeiture of three shillings and sixpence for every such offence to the poor." "However," says Neal, "this law was never put in execution. Men were reproached and censured for too strict an observation of the Lord's day, but none that I have met with, for the profanation of it." It was suspended and abrogated by the publication of the book of sports. See Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. ii, pp. 162, 163.

† "The French and Spanish Ambassadors were both at the king's mask, but not received as Ambassadors. The French

was a very strange way to express a pious care for the service of God, by encouraging Morice-dances, May-games, May-poles, and revels, on the day set apart for divine worship. The people, possessing even common sense, could not be brought to believe, that the practice of virtue could be promoted by the mixt dancing of men and women on village greens, or in other places on Sunday evenings, and at wakes and Whitsun-ales. When the common people were encouraged to spend the sabbath in idleness or in diversions, the natural consequence must necessarily have been, that a loose turn of mind would be contracted, and a demoralization, or a great depravity of manners ensue. Therefore it always behoves persons in authority to promote the observance of the Lord's day, and to shew themselves an exemplary and a regular behaviour on that sacred day: for by a strict observance of the sabbath by men in power, decency of manners will be generally increased, knowledge

sat amongst the ladies, the Spanish in a box. It was performed on a Sunday night, the day after the twelfth night, in very cold weather, so that the house was not filled according to expectation. The act of council to drive all men into the country, the coldness of the weather, the day Sunday, and the illness of the invention of the scenes, were given for causes why so small a company came to see it. My Lord-Treasurer (Bishop Juxton) was there by command." *Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches*, vol. ii, p. 148.

advanced, and a sense of religion (a thing of the greatest importance to society as well as to individuals) will be promoted in the minds of men. This is the duty of men in power: if they neglect it, they are not to wonder at the demoralized state and wickedness of the lower classes, or complain of the breach of social duties.*

Though several of the bishops urged the reading of the book of sports in their dioceses, and caused many of the clergy for refusing to do it, to be suspended and to be oppressed, yet, with respect to the diocese of Exeter, there is no account of any one clergyman suffering on account of it. As one object of publishing the book of sports was to suppress afternoon sermons, so we know that Bishop Hall was a very great encourager of sermons and of lectures; therefore there is strong probability that he did not countenance sports on the sabbath, nor urge his clergy to read the declaration. Considering his great moderation, we may suppose that he left it entirely to the discretion of his clergy to comply or not with the reading of it. In his Works we find no allusion to, or any remarks made upon this declaration for sports; the good bishop probably passed over such a violation of God's law in silence, out of respect, and from

* Harris's Life of Charles I. pp. 59, 60.

obedience, to the *powers that be for conscience' sake*. But it would have been well, if he had left us a testimony of his decided disapprobation of such a violation of the sabbath; or that he had written purposely on the morality of the Lord's day.

When the declaration for sports was republished, the controversy of the morality of the sabbath was revived. Mr. Theophilus Bradbourne, a Suffolk Minister, had published in the year 1628, *a Defence of the most ancient and sacred ordinance of God, the Sabbath day*; and dedicated it to the king. But Fuller observes, "That the poor man fell into the ambush of the high commission, whose well-tempered severity so prevailed with him, that he became a convert, and conformed quietly to the church of England." Francis White, bishop of Ely, was commanded by the king to confute Bradbourne: after him appeared Dr. Pocklington, with his *Sunday no sabbath*; and after him Heylin and others.* These divines, instead of softening some rigours in Bradbourne's sabbatarian strictness, ran into the contrary extreme, denying all manner of *divine right* or *moral obligation* to the observance of the whole, or any part of the Lord's day, making it to depend entirely upon ecclesiastical authority, and to oblige no

* Ch. Hist. b. xi, p. 144. See also Heylin's *Life of Laud* pp. 257, 258.

further than to the few hours of public service: and that, in the intervals, all kinds of revels and diversions were lawful and expedient.

It must be acknowledged that the long Parliament paid a particular regard to the strict and due observation of the Lord's day, and so passed several ordinances or acts to that purpose. All kinds of sports, either before or after divine service, were discountenanced; the preaching of God's word was promoted in the afternoon on Sundays, in the several churches and chapels, and ministers were encouraged thereunto. And it does the long Parliament credit so far as to shew their abhorrence of the infamous *book of sports*, which was ordered, May 5, 1643, to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman in Cheapside, and other places; and all persons having any copies in their hands, were required to deliver them to one of the Sheriffs of London to be burnt.

Archbishop Laud was so far from undeceiving those who were disposed to imagine that the church was leaning to popery, that he seemed at this time to have taken care to confirm them in their suspicion, by conforming to the Romish church in matters of little moment. There was scarce a church then in England, except the cathedrals, and the king's chapel, where the communion table was placed altarwise at the upper end of the chan-

cel. The communion-table was usually placed in the middle of the chancel, and the people received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper round it, or in their places thereabouts.* The dean and chapter of St. Paul's ordered the communion table in St. Gregory's church near St. Paul's to be removed from the middle of the chancel to the upper end of it, and to be placed there in form of an altar. This was complained of by the parishioners in the Court of Arches. The king sometime after commanded this cause to be heard before the council; where his Majesty himself directed the Dean of the Arches to confirm what had been done. In consequence of this sentence, pronounced by the king's authority, without the judgment of the court, to which the cognizance of this affair belonged, all communion-tables were ordered to be fixed under the east-wall of the chancel, with the ends north and south in form of an altar; and to be raised two or three steps above the floor, and encompassed with rails. This proved a source of oppression to many ministers and parishes who were unwilling to comply with such an order. It is almost incredible what a great ferment this trifling alteration occasioned over the kingdom. Books were written for and

* The communion-table of the church of Great Gransden, Hunts, remains still (1824) in the middle of the Chancel.

against it, with the same earnestness and contention for victory, as if the very existence of religion had been in danger. This occasioned a sort of schism or division among the bishops, "and a great deal of uncharitableness in the learned and moderate clergy towards one another."* Those who opposed the alterations were called *doctrinal puritans*, and the promoters of them *doctrinal papists*. As the Archbishop and his party were thus indiscreet on the one side, so the zeal of the puritans, on the other, betrayed them into very intemperate and indecent practices towards the established government of the church. But they were not the only people who were dissatisfied with the innovations which were introduced, and who were jealous that something more was intended than was as yet proposed. †

About the beginning of the year 1634, the severe sentence of the Star-chamber was pronounced against William Prynne, barrister and member of Lincoln's-inn, for writing a book intitled *Histriomastix*, ‡ against plays, masquerades,

* Clarendon.

† Warner's Eccles. Hist. of England, vol. ii, p. 526.

‡ This book is a thick quarto of 1006 pages. It abounds with learning, and has some curious quotations; but it is a very tedious and heavy performance; had he been let alone, few people would have read his book. He was a person of austere principles, and, perhaps, was one of the hardest students that ever existed. He was called one of the greatest paper-worms that

dancing, &c. He was sentenced to have his book burnt, to be disabled from the practice of the law, be degraded from his degree in the university, be set in the pillory, have both his ears cut off, to pay a fine of £ 5000. and to be imprisoned during life." A short time after, Dr. Bastwick a physician, and Mr. Burton a clergyman, were imprisoned; the former for writing a book entitled *Elenchus Religionis Papisticæ*, with Appendix, called *Flagellum Pontificis et Episcoporum Latialium*, which gave a great offence to Laud and others; the latter, for having published two exceptionable sermons, from Prov. xxiv, 21, 22, entitled, *For God and the King*, against the late innovations. "The punishment of these men, who were of the three great professions," observes

ever crept into a library. Wood supposes that he wrote a sheet for every day of his life, computing from the time of his arrival to man's estate to the day of his death. He says, "his custom was, when he studied, to put on a long quilted cap, which came an inch over his eyes, serving as an umbrella to defend them from too much light; and seldom eating a dinner, would every three hours, or more, be mouching a roll of bread, and now and then refresh his exhausted spirits with ale." He wrote about *two hundred books*, which he gave in 40 vols. fol. and 4to. to the public Library of Lincoln's Inn. On the restoration of Charles II. some asked the king what must be done with Prynne to make him quiet. "Why," said his Majesty, "let him amuse himself with writing against the Catholics, and in poring over the records of the Tower." To enable him to do the latter, he was appointed Keeper of the Records of the Tower, with a salary of £500. a year. He died Oct. 24, 1669. Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii, pp. 311-327.

Mr. Granger, "was ignominious and severe: though they were never objects of esteem, they soon became objects of pity. The indignity and severity of their punishment gave general offence; and they were no longer regarded as criminals, but confessors."*

During imprisonment, the above three persons were charged with writing several libellous pamphlets, and in the year 1637, were sentenced to suffer perpetual imprisonment; Burton to be deprived of his living, and to be degraded from his ministry, as Prynne and Bastwick had been from their profession of law and physic—each of them to pay a fine of £ 5000—to stand in the pillory at Westminster, and have their ears cut off: and because Prynne had already lost his ears, it was ordered that the stumps should be cut off; and that he should be stigmatized on both cheeks with the letters S. L. viz. *Seditious Libeller*. Prynne was imprisoned in Carnarvon castle, but afterwards removed to Montorgueil Castle in Jersey: Bastwick in Launceston Castle, but removed to the castle in the isle of Scilly; and Burton in the castle of Lancaster, but was removed to Castle-cornet in the island of Guernsey; where they were kept without the use of pen, ink and

* Biog. Hist. of Eng. vol. ii, p. 192.

paper, or the access of their friends, till they were released by the long parliament.*

Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, and the Rev. Mr. Osbaldeston, head-master of Westminster school, met with severe hardships by means of Archbishop Laud. Bishop Williams had been so good a friend to Laud as to persuade King James to advance him to a bishopric. But upon the accession of King Charles, Laud turned upon his benefactor, and supplanted him from favour and preferments at court. Upon which Bishop Williams retired to his diocese, and spent his time in reading and in the good government of his diocese. He said once in conversation, "that the puritans were the king's best subjects, and he was sure would carry all at last; and that the king had told him, "that he would treat the puritans more mildly for the future." Laud being informed of this expression, caused an information to be lodged against him in the Star-Chamber, for *revealing the king's secrets*; but the charge not being well supported, a new bill was exhibited against him, for tampering with the king's witnesses. Consequently the bishop was suspended from all his offices and benefices, was fined eleven thousand

* Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 280.

See a full account of these sufferers in Brook's Lives of the Puritans, vol. iii.

pounds, and to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure. He was kept a close prisoner about four years, till the meeting of the long parliament. The Rev. Mr. Osbaldeston was charged *with plotting with the bishop of Lincoln to divulge false news, and to breed a difference between the Lord Treasurer Weston and the Archbishop of Canterbury as long ago as the year 1633.* The information was grounded upon two letters of Mr. Osbaldeston to Bishop Williams, found among the papers of the latter, in which were some expressions, which the jealous Archbishop interpreted as concerning himself. Though there was no foundation for conviction, yet *the court fined him £ 5000 to the King, and £ 5000. to the Archbishop: to be deprived of all his spiritual dignities and promotions, to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure, and to stand in the pillory in the Dean's yard before his own school, and have his ears nailed to it.* However, Mr. Osbaldeston so effectually concealed himself till the beginning of the long parliament, that he fortunately escaped this very severe sentence.

CHAPTER IV.

THOUGH there had been bishops in Scotland for some years, they were, in a great measure, but nominal, being subject to a presbyterian assembly. The attempt of establishing episcopacy in that country in the time of king James, and king Charles, was carried on in a rather arbitrary, and so unsuccessful a manner. A man of archbishop Laud's temper was very unfit to introduce that primitive mode of church government among a people remarkable for their love of liberty, and for sobriety and moral conduct. To impose upon that nation a set of canons, a liturgy of Laud's revision, and a declaration for sports on the sabbath, were such measures as "proved the fatal torch that put the two kingdoms into a flame." *

When, in the year 1637, the liturgy, revised and altered by Laud, was sent into Scotland, and accompanied with a royal proclamation, com-

* Welwood's Memoirs, p. 45.

manding all his majesty's subjects to receive it; the Scots tumultuously refused it, and afterwards assumed to themselves the liberty and power of holding a general assembly of their church, in which they passed an act *for abjuring and abolishing episcopacy*. They also passed sentence of deposition against the bishops; eight of them were excommunicated, four excluded from the ministerial function, and two only allowed to officiate as pastors or presbyters. Upon this, most of the bishops withdrew from Scotland, only four remained in the country, three of whom renounced their episcopal orders, viz. Alexander Ramsey, bishop of Dunkeld, George Graham, bishop of Orkney, and James Fairby, bishop of Argyle; but the fourth, George Guthrey, bishop of Murray, kept his ground, and weathered the storm.

In consequence of the Scots' assembly abolishing episcopacy as unlawful, Bishop Hall, at the recommendation of Archbishop Laud, undertook to write a book in defence of the DIVINE RIGHT OF EPISCOPACY, as a counterbalance to the proceedings of the Scots. Bishop Hall sent a rude draught or skeleton of his intended work to Archbishop Laud for his inspection and approbation. The following, according to Heylin,* were the original points and propositions submitted to the

* Heylin's Life of Laud, pp. 398, 399.

Archbishop, together with his Grace's remarks, and alterations : —“ That episcopacy is a lawful, most ancient, holy, and divine institution, (as it is joined with imparity, and superiority of jurisdiction) and therefore where it hath through God's providence obtained, cannot, by any human power, be abdicated without a manifest violation of God's ordinance.

“ That the presbyterian government, however vindicated under the glorious names of Christ's kingdom, and ordinance, hath no true footing either in Scripture, or the practice of the church in all ages from Christ's till the present; and that howsoever it may be of use, in some cities or territories, wherein episcopal government through iniquity of times cannot be had; yet to obtrude it upon a church otherwise settled under an acknowledged *monarchy*, is utterly incongruous and unjustifiable.”

In order to prove these two points, he was to lay down some *propositions* or *postulata*, as the ground work of his proceedings; which were the following, before they were altered and revised :—

- (1) “ That government, which was of apostolical institution, cannot be denied to be of divine right.
- (2.) Not only that government which was directly commanded and enacted, but also that which was practised and recommended by the apostles to the church, must justly pass for an apostolic

institution. (3.) That which the apostles by Divine inspiration instituted, was not for the present time, but for continuance. (4.) The universal practice of the church, immediately succeeding the apostles, is the best and surest commentary upon the practice of the apostles, or upon their expressions. (5.) We may not entertain so irreverent an opinion of the saints and fathers of the primitive church, that they who were the immediate successors of the apostles would, or durst set up a government, either faulty, or of their own heads. (6.) If they would have been so presumptuous, yet they could not have diffused an uniform form of government through the world in so short a space. (7.) The ancient histories of the church, and writings of the eldest fathers, are rather to be believed in the report of the primitive form of the church government, than those of this last age. (8.) Those whom the ancient church of God, and the holy and orthodox fathers condemned for heretics, are not fit to be followed as authors of our opinion or practice for church government. (9.) The accession of honourable titles or privileges, makes no difference in the substance of the calling. (10.) Those scriptures wherein a new form of government is grounded, have need to be very clear and unquestionable, and more evident than those whereon the former rejected polity is raised. (11.) If that order

which, they say, Christ set for the government of the church (which they call the kingdom and ordinance of Christ) be but one, and undoubted, then it would, and shall have been ere this, agreed upon against them, what, and which it is. (12.) If this (which they pretend) be the kingdom, and ordinance of Christ, then if any essential part of it be wanting, Christ's kingdom is not erected in the church. (13.) Christian polity requires no impossible or absurd thing. (14.) Those tenets which are new and unheard of in all ages of the church, (in many and essential points) are well worthy to be suspected. (15.) To depart from the practice of the universal church of Christ, (even from the apostles' times) and to betake ourselves voluntarily to a new form, lately taken up, cannot but be odious and highly scandalous."

"These first delineations of the portraiture," says Heylin, "being sent to Lambeth in the end of October, 1639, were generally well approved of by the *Metropolitan*. Some lines there were which he thought too much *shadow* and *umbrage* might be taken at them, if not otherwise qualified with a more perfect ray of light. And thereupon he takes the pencil in his hand, and with some alterations, accompanied with many kind expressions of a fair acceptance, he sent them back again to be completely limned and coloured by that able hand."

The following were the remarks and alterations made by Land, in a letter to Bishop Hall.

“ Since you are pleased so worthily and brother-like to acquaint me with the whole plot of your intended work, and to yield it up to my censure and better advise, (so you are pleased to write) I do not only thank you heartily for it, but shall in the same brotherly way, and with equal freedom, put some few animadversions, such as occur on the sudden, to your further consideration, aiming at nothing but what you do, the perfection of the work in which so much is concerned. And first, for Mr. George Graham, (*whom Bishop Hall had signified to have renounced his episcopal function*) I leave you free to work upon his business and his ignorance as you please, assuring myself that you will not depart from the gravity of yourself, or the cause therein. Next you say in the first head, *That episcopacy is an ancient, holy, and divine institution*. It must needs be ancient and holy if divine. Would it not be more full went it thus?—So ancient, as that it is of divine institution. Next you define episcopacy by being joined with imparity and superiority of jurisdiction, but this seems short; for every *archpresbyter's* or *arch-deacon's* place is so; yea, and so was Mr. Henderson in his chair at Glasgow, unless you will define it by a distinction of order. I draw the

superiority, not from the jurisdiction which is attributed to bishops *jure positivo*, in their audience of ecclesiastical matters; but from that which is intrinsical and original in the power of excommunication. Again, you say in the first point, That where episcopacy hath obtained, it cannot be abdicated without violation of God's ordinance. This proposition I conceive is *inter minus habentes*; for never was there any church yet, where it hath not obtained. The christian faith was never yet planted any where, but the very first feature of a church was by, or with episcopacy. And wheresoever now episcopacy is not suffered to be, it is by such an abdication, for certainly there it was *à principio*. In your second head, you grant that the presbyterian government may be of use, where episcopacy may not be had. First, I pray you consider whether this conversion be not needless here, and in itself of a dangerous consequence. Next I conceive there is no place where episcopacy may not be had, if there be a church more than in title only. Thirdly, since they challenge their presbyterian fiction to be Christ's kingdom and ordinance, (as yourself expresseth) and cast out episcopacy as opposite to it, we must not use any mincing terms, but unmask them plainly; nor shall I ever give way to hamper ourselves for fear of speaking plain truth, though it be against

Amsterdam or *Geneva*: and this must be sadly thought on.

Concerning your *postulata*, I shall pray you to allow me the like freedom; amongst which the two first are true, but, as exprest, too restrictive. For episcopacy is not so to be asserted unto apostolical institution, as to bar it from looking higher, and from fetching it materially and originally in the ground and intention of it, from Christ himself; though perhaps the apostles formalized it. And here give me leave a little to enlarge. The adversaries of episcopacy are not only the furious *Arian* heretics, (out of which are now raised *Prynne*, *Bastwick*, and our *Scottish* masters) but some also of a milder and subtiler alloy, both in the *Genevan* and *Roman* faction. And it will become the Church of England so to vindicate it against the furious *Puritans*, as that we may not lay it open to be wounded by either of the other two, more cunning, and more learned adversaries. Not to the *Roman* faction, for that will be content, it shall be *Juris divini mediati*, by, far from, and under the pope, that so the government of the church may be monarchical in him; but not *immediati*, which makes the church *aristocratical* in the bishops. This is the *Italian* rock, not the *Genevan*; for that will not deny episcopacy to be *Juris divini*, so you will take it, *ut suadentis vel approbantis*, so you will not take

it as *universaliter imperantis*; for then *Geneva* might escape; *et citra considerationem durantis*; for then, though they had it before, yet now upon wiser thoughts they may be without it, which *Scotland*, says now, and who will may say it after, if this be good divinity: and then all in that time shall be *democratical*. I am bold to add, because in your second *postulatum*, I find that episcopacy is directly commanded; but you go not so far as to meet with this subtilty of *Beza*, which is the great rock in the lake of *Geneva*. In your nine *postulatum*, that the accession of honourable titles, or privileges, makes no difference in the substance of the calling, you mean the titles of Archbishops, Primates, *Metropolitans*, Patriarchs, &c. 'Tis well; and I presume you do so: but then in any case take heed you assert it so, as that the faction lay not hold of it, as if the bishops were but the title of honour, and the same calling with a priest; for that they all aim at, &c. The eleventh *postulatum* is larger, and I shall not repeat it, because I am sure you retain a copy of what you write to me, being the ribs of the work = nor shall I say more to it, than that it must be warily handled for fear of a saucy answer, which is more ready with them a great deal than a learned one. I presume I am pardoned already for this freedom by your submission of all to me. And now I heartily pray you to send me up,

(keeping a copy to yourself against the accidents of carriage) not the whole work together, but each particular head or *postulatum*, as you finish it; that so we here may be the better able to consider of it, and the work come on faster. So to God's blessed protection," &c. &c.

Such was the freedom Archbishop Laud took with Bishop Hall, and the judgment he passed upon the outlines of the work; and Heylin tells us "that the bishop of Exon found good cause to *correct the obliquity of his opinion*," according to the above animadversions. When Bishop Hall finished his treatise, he submitted it, before it went to press, to the final perusal of the archbishop, who read it over with care and diligence. The treatise was, in some places, altered by the archbishop, contrary to Bishop Hall's inclinations. Notice was taken that Bishop Hall had spoken too favourably of the morality of the sabbath; and that the *superstition* of the sabbatarians was but slightly touched upon; whereas the archbishop "thought that some smarter plaister to that sore might have done no harm." His Grace disapproved of Bishop Hall's waving the question, *Whether episcopacy was a distinct order, or only an higher degree of the same order; and of his advancing the divine right of episcopacy no higher than the apostles; whereas he would have it derived*

from Christ himself. Upon this the archbishop observed, that “in the judgment of such learned men as he had consulted, it was the main ground of the whole cause; and therefore he desired him to weigh it well, and to alter it with his own pen as soon as might be.” His Grace also was not pleased with the sentiment, *that presbytery was of use, where episcopacy could not be obtained.* But that which gave him the greatest offence was, that Bishop Hall had positively and determinately bestowed the title of *Antichrist* upon the pope: this His Grace would by no means allow, as being so contrary to the judgment of many learned protestants, as well as his own. The archbishop thought fit to acquaint the king with this, and so to submit it to the royal will and pleasure: and respecting which, he wrote thus to Bishop Hall: “The last (with which I durst not but acquaint His Majesty) is about *Antichrist*, which title in three or four places you bestow upon the pope positively and determinately; whereas king James of blessed memory, having brought strong proof in a work of his, as you well know, to prove the pope to be *Antichrist*; yet being afterwards challenged about it, he made this answer, when the king, that now is, went into Spain, and acquainted him with it, *That he writ that not concludingly, but by way of argument only*, that the pope and his adherents might see, there was as good and

better arguments to prove him *Antichrist*, than for the pope to challenge temporal jurisdiction over kings. The whole passage being known to me, I could not but speak with the king about it, who commanded me to write unto you, that you might qualify your expression in these particulars, and so not differ from the known judgment of his pious and learned father. This is easily done with your own pen, and the rather, because all protestants join not in this opinion of *Antichrist*." According to this advice, Bishop Hall complied, though contrary to his own sentiments, to qualify some of his expressions, and to expunge others, "to the contentment of his sovereign, the satisfaction of his metropolitan, and his own great honour."* So, in some few things, the celebrated treatise upon the Divine Right of Episcopacy, was modelled according to the views and sentiments of Laud. It is evident from the above remarks of the archbishop, that Bishop Hall was one of those bishops, who did not insist upon reading the book of sports, but duly regarded the morality of the sabbath. Heylin informs us, that all the bishops did not join their hearts and hands together in carrying on the work of *uniformity* according to Archbishop Laud's plan, but threw

* Heylin's Life of Laud, pp. 400, 405, 406. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 322.

obstacles in the way, and exposed the measures of Laud to the public hatred. "For such was their desire," says he, "to ingratiate themselves amongst the people, that some of them being required to return the names of such ministers as refused the reading of the book, (of sports) made answer, that they would not turn *informers* against their brethren, there being enough besides themselves to perform that office. Others conceived, that they had very well performed their duty, and consulted their own peace and safety also, by waving all proceedings against them in their own *consistories*, wherein they must appear as the principal agents, and turning them over to be censured by the *High Commission*, where their names might never come in question."*

Bishop Hall himself tells us, that he had been charged with being too favourable to those who were denominated *puritans*, merely because they were conscientious and diligent in the discharge of their duties: and on that account that he had been misrepresented and complained of to his metropolitan. We may probably conclude, that one reason why Laud recommended Bishop Hall to write on *the Divine Right of Episcopacy* was to try him whether his view of episcopacy was

* Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 313.

what it should be; for he was suspected, on account of his moderation and piety, to entertain some "*obliquity of opinion.*" *

Bishop Hall dedicated his Treatise on the Divine Right of Episcopacy to Charles I. in which he states that he undertook the work on account that episcopacy had suffered in the north, meaning Scotland, "to the height of patience;" that it was "reported that one George Grahame, bishop of Orkney, had openly, before the whole body of the assembly, renounced his episcopal function, and craved pardon for having accepted it, as if thereby he had committed some heinous offence." The Bishop also intimates that he had "met with *some affronts*" within his own diocese of Exeter and jurisdiction.

Bishop Hall was the most celebrated writer of his times in defence of the Church of England; and his Treatise on the Divine Right of Episcopacy is a proof of his deep research, erudition, and piety; he brings forward such proofs and arguments for episcopacy as cannot be shaken, and in the conclusion of the Treatise he recapitulates the several heads of the subject, and, with zeal and pious earnestness, addresses his readers and brethren, saying, "for Christ's sake, for the

* See Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 402.

church's sake, for your souls' sake, be exhorted to hold fast to this holy institution of your blessed Saviour and his unerring Apostles; and bless God for episcopacy. Do but cast your eyes a little back, and see what noble instruments of God's glory he hath been pleased to raise up in this very church of ours, out of this sacred vocation: what famous servants of God; what strong champions of truth, and renowned antagonists of Rome and her superstitions; what admirable preachers; what incomparable writers; yea, what constant and undaunted martyrs and confessors; men, that gave their blood for the Gospel; and embraced their faggots flaming, which many gregary (ordinary, or common) professors held enough to carry cold and painless, to the wonder and gratulation of all foreign churches, and to the unparalleled glory of his church and nation?

“What christian church under heaven hath, in so short a time, yielded so many glorious lights of the gospel, so many able and prevalent adversaries of schism and antichristianism, so many eminent authors of learned works, which shall outbid time itself. Let envy grind her teeth: the memory of these worthy Prelates shall be ever sweet and blessed.

“Neither doubt I, but that it will please God, out of the same rod of Aaron still to raise such blossoms and fruit, as shall win him glory to all

eternity. Go you on to honour these your reverend pastors; to hate all factious withdrawals from that government, which comes the nearest of any church upon earth to the apostolical.”*

Through the overbearing conduct of Laud, both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs on the one hand, and the factious and turbulent spirit of the separatists on the other, the tranquillity of the church was much disturbed. *Bagshaw*, a lawyer of some standing in the Middle Temple, being elected a Reader or Lecturer in that house for the Lent vacation, boldly laid the axe to the root of episcopacy, by calling into question the right of bishops to have *place* and *vote* in Parliament, and their power and authority altogether. In his Lectures on the 25th Edw. III. c. 7, he maintained that Acts of Parliament were valid without the assent of the lords spiritual. That no beneficed clerk was capable of temporal jurisdiction at the making that law; and, that no bishop, without calling a synod, had power as a diocesan, to convict a heretic.—Laud, when informed of this, told the king that Bagshaw had justified the Scots Covenanters in decrying the temporal jurisdiction of churchmen, and the undoubted right of the bishops to their seats in parliament: upon which

* See Bishop Hall's Works, vol. ix, pp. 623, 624.

Bagshaw was immediately interdicted all further reading on those points; and though he humbly petitioned the Lord Keeper and the Archbishop for liberty to proceed, he could get no other answer, than "it had been better for him not to have meddled with that argument, which should stick closer to him than he was aware of."* Whereupon he retired into the country.

The year 1640 began with a Parliament and Convocation. Such was now the state of affairs, that the king was under the necessity of calling a parliament, after an intermission of nearly twelve years, in order to renew the war with Scotland. The two houses assembled according to their summons, in the month of April, with the usual formalities. The king condescended to open the parliament with only the following short speech from the throne:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"There never was a king that had a more great and weighty cause to call his people together than myself. I will not trouble you with the particulars: I have informed my Lord Keeper and commanded him to speak, and to desire your attention."

* Heylin's *Life of Laud*, pp. 406, 407. Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. ii, p. 323.

This short speech appears a kind of preface to Sir John Finch, the Lord Keeper's long speech, in which he commented on the proceedings of the Scots against the king, and his Majesty's urgent want of supply towards vindicating his honour, and intimated to them also at the same time that his Majesty was far from intending to preclude them from their right of enquiring into the state of the kingdom, and of offering him petitions for redress of grievances. But the Commons, instead of beginning with the supply according to his Majesty's wish, appointed committees for *religion* and *grievances*, which disobliged the king so much, that after several fruitless attempts to persuade them to grant him a *subsidy*, he dissolved the parliament in displeasure, without passing a single act, after they had sat about three weeks.

But other means of obtaining a subsidy were employed, which were highly offensive and grievous to the people. The *odium* of these proceedings fell on Laud and Strafford, who were libelled and threatened with the fury of the populace. In the month of May, 1640, the archbishop's palace at Lambeth was attacked by the mob; one of the ringleaders was apprehended and suffered death. During this month, and the whole summer, there

* Warner's Eccles. Hist. of England, vol. ii, p. 528.

was much disturbance both in London and in the country.

The convocation which sat with this parliament was opened April 14, next day after opening of parliament, with much more splendour and magnificence than the situation of affairs required. The convocation sermon was preached by Dr. Turner, Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, from Matt. xvi, 16. "Behold, I send you forth as sheep among wolves:" after which they adjourned to the Chapter House, where the king's writ of summons being read, the archbishop, in a Latin speech, recommended to the lower house the electing of a prolocutor, to be presented to himself or his commissary in the chapel of Henry VII. on Friday following, to which time and place the convocation was adjourned.

On April 17, after divine service, Dr. Steward, Dean of Chichester and Clerk of the Closet, was presented to the archbishop as prolocutor, whom his *Grace* approved of, and then produced his Majesty's commission under the great seal, authorizing him to "consult and agree upon the explanation or amendment of any canons then in force, or for making such new ones, as should be thought convenient for the government of the church." The commission was to remain in force during the present session of parliament, and no longer; and by a singular clause, nothing was to

be concluded without the archbishop being a party in the consultation. The latitude of this commission was very acceptable to the majority of the convocation; and in return for this testimony of his Majesty's confidence, they voted him six subsidies, to be paid him in six years, at the rate of four shillings in the pound. The archbishop brought in some other canons against papists, against the spread of Socinian heresy; and it was also then decreed that the proceedings and penalties against popish recusants should, as far as they are applicable, stand in full force against all separatists and sects, who refuse repairing to their parish churches, for hearing divine service, and receiving the holy communion.

Thus far the convocation proceeded, when the parliament was suddenly dissolved. The convocation, according to ancient custom, should have broke up at the same time; but that one of the lower house having acquainted Laud with a precedent in the 27th year of Queen Elizabeth, of the convocation's granting a subsidy to be raised upon all the clergy, after the breaking up of parliament, and levying it by their own synodical act only, under the penalty of ecclesiastical censures. Hence it was concluded that the convocation might sit independent of the parliament,

and therefore, instead of dissolving, they only adjourned for a few days to take further advice.*

Laud relying upon this single precedent, applied to the king for a commission to continue the convocation during his Majesty's pleasure, in order to finish the canons and constitutions, and to grant the subsidies already voted. The case being referred to the judges, the majority of whom gave it as their opinion, "that the convocation, being called by the king's writ under the great seal, doth continue till it be dissolved by writ or commission under the great seal, notwithstanding the parliament be dissolved."

Signed May 14, 1640, by John Finch, C.M.S.

H. MANCHESTER,
J. BRAMSTON,
RALPH WHITFIELD,

ROB. HEATH,
EDW. LITTLETON,
J. BANKS.

Upon this a commission under the great seal was granted, and the convocation was re-assembled, though the opinion of several gentlemen of the long robe, and of many others, was against it.† But the convocation was further encouraged to proceed by his Majesty's message sent by Sir H. Vane, Secretary of State, who acquainted

* Warner's Eccles. Hist. of England, vol. ii, pp. 528, 529.

† See Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix, p. 168. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 327, &c. Heylin's Life of Laud, pp. 428-429.

them, " that it was his royal pleasure that none of the prelates or clergy should withdraw from the synod or convocation till the affairs they had in command from the king were perfected and finished."

Upon this dubious foundation the convocation was continued, and a committee of twenty-six appointed to prepare matters for the debate of the house; but the mob being so furious as to threaten to pull down the convocation house, the king ordered a guard of the Middlesex militia, commanded by Endymion Porter, groom of the bed-chamber, a *papist*, to protect the Synod. It was dissolved on the 29th of May by a special *mandate* or *writ* from his Majesty, after it had continued twenty-five sessions. The Canons, after being approved by the privy council, were subscribed by as many of both houses of convocation as were present, and then transmitted to the provincial Synod of York, by which they were subscribed at once, without so much as debating either matter or form. Neal says in his *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii, pp. 328--329, that " Dr. John Williams, bishop of Lincoln, was in the Tower, and had no concern with the Canons. Dr. Goodman, bishop of Gloucester, a concealed *papist*, was the only prelate who declined the subscription; till the Archbishop threatened him with deprivation, and the rest of

his brethren pressing him to comply, he was persuaded to put his name to the book: but several of the members of the lower house avoided the *test* by withdrawing before the day of subscription; for, of above one hundred and sixty, of which both houses of convocation consisted, there were not many more than one hundred names to the book." Heylin, in his *Life of Archbishop Laud*, contradicts the above account of Neal, and says that the Canons were approved by all the Clergy, "who were called up to the house of bishops to be present at the subscribing of them, which was accordingly performed May 29th, by the bishops, deans, and archdeacons in their seniority, and promiscuously by the rest of the clergy, till all the members had subscribed; every man's heart going together with his hand, as it is to be presumed from all men of that holy profession. Recusant there was none, but the bishop of Gloucester.*

The irregularity however of continuing the synod after the dissolution of parliament has been concluded hence, that the convocation consisting of bishops, deans, archdeacons, and clerks, the three former act in their personal capacities only, and may give for themselves what subsidies they

* Heylin's *Life of Laud*, pp. 445, 446.

please. But the clerks being chosen for their respective cathedrals or dioceses, to sit as long as the parliament continues, desist from being *public persons*, as soon as it is dissolved, and lose the character of *representatives*; they are then no more than private clergymen, who, though they may give the king what sums of money they please for themselves, cannot vote away the estates of their brethren, unless they are re-elected. It was also contrary to all *law and custom*, both before and since the *act of submission of the clergy* to Henry VIII, except in the single instance of Queen Elizabeth.*

The canons of this synod consisted of seventeen articles, and were published June 30, 1640. The following is an abstract of those canons, which were made the subject of so much contention and debate in the next parliament. The reader may judge for himself about the offence given on one side, and the revenge taken on the other.

1. The first Canon is concerning regal power, where it is decreed that the order of kings is of divine right, being the ordinance of God himself, founded on the Laws of nature and revelation, by which the supreme power over all persons, ecclesiastical and civil, is given to them; that they

* Warner's Eccles. Hist. of England, vol. ii, p. 530. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 329.

have the care of God's church, and the power of dissolving both national and provincial councils : that for any persons to set up in the king's realms any independent coercive power, either papal or popular, is treasonable against God, and the king ; and for subjects to bear arms against the king, either offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatever, is at least to resist the powers ordained of God ; and though they do not invade but only resist, St. Paul says, " They shall receive damnation." Though tribute, custom, aid, and subsidy be due to the king by the law of God, nature and nations, yet subjects have a right and property in their goods and estates, &c. That if any clergyman should neglect to publish these explications, upon one Sunday in every quarter of the year, he shall be suspended ; or if in any sermon, or public lecture, he shall maintain any position contrary to it, he shall be excommunicated and suspended for two years ; and offending a second time, shall be deprived.

2. Here it is decreed that the day of the king's inauguration should be observed with morning prayers and a sermon, at which all persons shall be present.

3. In this, the suppressing of the growth of Popery is intended, &c.

4. This decrees that no person shall import,

disperse, or print any *Socinian* books, on pain of excommunication, &c.

5. This ordains that the canon against Papists, shall be in force against sectaries, as far as it is applicable; and the clause against the books of Socinians, should be in force against all the books that are written against the doctrine and government of the church.

6. This decreed the following oath to be taken by all archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, before a public notary within six months:—I, A.B. do swear, that I do approve the doctrine, and discipline, or government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation; and that I will not endeavor, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in Popish doctrine, contrary to that which is established; nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this church by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the see of Rome. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mental evasions, or secret reservation whatever; and this I do heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the

faith of a Christian. So help me God in Jesus Christ."

If any beneficed person in the church refused this oath, he was, after a month, suspended from his office; after a second month, from his benefice; and after a third, deprived. All the members of the universities, or those who have taken a degree, as lawyers, physicians, &c. were required to take this oath: and all governors of halls and colleges, all schoolmasters, candidates for holy orders, and those who have licence to preach.

7. This canon declares that the placing the communion table at the east end of the church is in its own nature indifferent; nor does it imply that it is, or ought to be esteemed a proper altar, though it may be called so in the sense of the primitive church: but as Queen Elizabeth's injunctions have ordered it to be placed where the altar was, it was judged proper that all churches and chapels should conform to that order. And it is recommended to all people, that they do reverence at their entries in and going out of the church; and that all communicants come to the rails to receive the communion, which has been heretofore carried up and down.

8. This canon enjoins all public preachers to declare positively and plainly, twice a year, that

the rites and ceremonies of the church are lawful, to which it is the duty of all people to conform.

9. By this it was decreed that no other articles of enquiry should be used at visitations, than what were contained in a book to be drawn up by this synod.

10. The subject of this is the regular and moral conversation of the clergy.

11. The bishops were to grant no patent to chancellors, or officials, for any term longer than their lives, and to reserve in their own hands the power of instituting to benefices, and of licensing to preach.

12. No lay chancellor, or commissary, shall inflict any censure upon the clergy, for any criminal causes, except neglect of appearing: all others are to be heard by the bishop, or with the assistance of his chancellor, and if the bishop cannot attend, by the chancellor assisted with two grave divines of the diocese, appointed by the bishop.

13. No sentence of excommunication, or absolution, is allowed to be pronounced by any but a priest, either in open consistory or in the church, having first received it under the seal of an ecclesiastical judge.

14. This admits of no commutation of penance, without consent of the bishop; and the money to be disposed of to charitable uses.

15. No executor shall be cited into any court or office, within ten days after the death of the testator, though he may prove the will within such a time.

16. No other licence to marry, but the archbishop's, is allowed by this canon to any party; unless the man or woman shall have lived in the jurisdiction of the ordinary to whom they apply, a month before the licence is desired.

17. The last canon forbids a citation from spiritual courts, except under the hand and seal of one of the judges within thirty days after the crime is committed; and until the party is convicted by two witnesses, he may purge himself by oath, without paying any fee, provided the canon does not extend to schism, incontinence, misbehaviour at divine service, obstinate inconstancy, or the like."*

When these canons were published, they were generally disliked; and several pamphlets were written against them. Some objected to the first as subversive of the English constitution, because it declares in favour of the absolute power of kings, and that *it is unlawful to use defensive arms on any pretence whatever against the king*. The

* Warner's Eccles. Hist. of England, vol. ii, pp. 530-533. Heylin's Life of Laud, fol. ed. pp. 422-440. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. ii, pp. 329-336.

puritans disapproved of the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth canons: but all the clergy were nearly concerned in the sixth, being required by the 2d of November to take the oath mentioned therein. The London clergy and others drew up a petition against the oath to the privy council. Petitions from most counties in England were made against it: some complaining of it as contrary to the oath of supremacy, and others of the *ET CETERA* in the middle. Others objected to the authority of the synod to impose an oath; and many confessed that they wished some things in the discipline of the church might be altered, and therefore could not swear never to attempt it in a proper way. Some of the bishops endeavoured to satisfy the scruples of their clergy by giving the most favourable interpretation of *the oath*. Bishop Hall told them that it only meant as follows: "That I do so far approve of the discipline and doctrine of this church, as that I do believe there is nothing in any other pretended discipline or doctrine necessary to salvation, besides that which is contained in the doctrine and discipline of the church of England. And as I do allow the government by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, so I will not, upon the suggestion of any factious persons, go about to alter the same as it now stands, and as by due right (being so established)

it ought to stand in the church of England.”*— But many of the bishops compelled their clergy to take the oath; and Fuller, in his Church History, tells us,† that to his certain knowledge some of the bishops obliged them to take it *kneeling*, a ceremony never required in taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Such severe and unbecoming degree of power some of the bishops then assumed!

Dr. Sanderson, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, acquainted the archbishop, by letter, with the difficulties of enforcing the oath; he observed, “ that multitudes of churchmen; not only of the preciser sort, but of such as were regular and conformable, would utterly refuse to take the oath, or be brought to it with much difficulty and reluctance; so that, unless by his Majesty’s special direction, the pressing the oath may be forborn for a time; or that, a short explanation of some passages in it, most liable to exception, be sent to the several persons who are to administer the same, to be publicly read before the tender of the said oath, the peace of this church is apparently in danger to be more disquieted by this one occasion, than by any thing that has happened within our memories.”

* Nalson’s Collection, p. 496, &c.

† Book xi, p. 171.

It is certain that this oath was much disliked by almost all the clergy, who, with others, joined in petition against it to the king, who was pleased to send the following letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, under the hand of the secretary of state.

" May it please your Grace :

I am by his Majesty's command to let you know, that upon many petitions presented by divers churchmen, as well in the diocese of Canterbury as York, to which many hands are subscribed, as the mode of petitions now are, against the oath in the canons made in the last synod, his Majesty's pleasure is, that as he took order before his coming into these parts, that the execution of neither should be pressed on those that were already beneficed in the church, which was ordered at the council board in your Grace's presence, but that it should be administered to those who were to receive orders and to be admitted; it is his Majesty's pleasure, that those should be dispensed with also, and that there be no prosecution thereof till the meeting of the convocation.

York, Sept. 30, 1640.

" H. VANE." *

* Nalson's Collection, p. 500. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 337.

We have seen above* the opinion of Bishop Hall with regard to this troublesome oath, and he tells us also in the tract called, "Some Specialities in his Life," written by himself, that in consequence of this oath, and some other opposition, his peace was much disturbed: "What messages of caution I had from some of my wary brethren, and what expostulatory letters I had from above, (from Archbishop Laud) I need not relate. Sure I am, I had peace and comfort at home, in the happy sense of that general unanimity and loving correspondence of my clergy, till, in the last year of my presiding there, (as bishop of Exeter) after the synodical oath was set on foot, (*which yet I did never tender to any one minister of my diocese*) by the incitation of some busy interlopers of the neighbour country."

With regard to this unpopular oath, we discover in Bishop Hall such moderation and temper highly becoming a christian bishop.

Amidst much factious and discontented spirit of many of the English, the king was obliged to prepare to go to war with the Scots, who had now a second time marched an army to the borders, and were ready to invade the English side. An army was raised, and the king in person commanded it: the Earls of Northumberland

* Page 181.

and Strafford were appointed generals, and Lord Conway general of the cavalry. It soon appeared that some of the English nobility were not for conquering the Scots, and the soldiers manifested no zeal for his Majesty's cause; so that after a small skirmish, the Scots army passed the Tweed, Aug. 21, and on the 30th took possession of Newcastle, the king's army retreating as far as York, leaving them masters of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Durham, where they subsisted their army, and raised what contributions they pleased.

In this situation of affairs, a petition, signed by twelve English peers, was sent to his Majesty, to discontinue the war, complaining of many grievances, as the inconveniences of carrying on the war with the Scots, the increase of popery, &c. and of the canons made in the last convocation. The city of London also petitioned, and the Scots themselves tendered to his Majesty certain terms of accommodation. The king, finding it impossible to carry on the war, appointed commissioners to treat with the Scots at Rippon, who agreed to a cessation of arms for two months from the 26th of October, the Scots to have £850. a day towards the subsistence of their army;* and the treaty to be adjourned to London, where a parliament was immediately to be convened.

* See Harris's *Life of Charles I.* p. 364, Ed. 1814.

CHAPTER V.

ON the 3d of November, 1640, this famous parliament met, which has been called *the long parliament*, because it continued sitting with some little intermission for above eighteen years: it occasioned such extraordinary revolutions in church and state, as were the scandal of their own country, and the surprise of other countries.* On the day of opening the parliament, his Majesty declined the usual way of riding in state from Whitehall to Westminster, but went by water, accompanied with several peers of the realm. The king, in his speech from the throne, declared his readiness to redress all just grievances; but some offence was taken, by his Majesty calling the Scots, REBELS, when there was a pacification subsisting.

* Heylin's *Life of Laud*, pp. 454-458. Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. ii, p. 339. Dugdale's *Short View*, pp. 63, 64, 65. Harris' *Life of Charles I*, p. 360, &c. Ed. 1814. Warner's *Eccles. Hist. of England*, vol. ii, p. 633.

Before the session of parliament "the principal members consulted measures for securing the frequency of parliaments; for redressing of grievances in church and state: and for bringing the king's arbitrary ministers to justice," in order to accomplish which, it was thought expedient to set some bounds to the prerogative, and to diminish the power of the bishops: probably they did not at first intend to overturn the civil and ecclesiastical constitutions, and that they would have been satisfied with a certain degree of reform in church and state; but in their proceedings, they went to such extremes as involved both in ruin.

At their first entrance upon business, four committees were appointed: the first to receive petitions about *religious grievances*; the second, for the affairs of Scotland and Ireland; the third, for *civil grievances*; and the fourth, concerning popery, plots, &c.* About the 9th of November,

* Both houses petitioned his Majesty to appoint a fast for a divine blessing upon their counsels, which was observed Nov. 17. Rev. Mr. Marshall and Mr. Burgess, two eminent puritan divines, preached before the Commons, the former on 2 Chron. xv, 2, "The Lord is with you, while you are with him; if you seek him he will be found of you, but if you forsake him he will forsake you." The latter on Jer. l, 5, "They shall ask the way to Zion with their faces thitherward, saying, Come, and let us join ourselves to the Lord in a perpetual covenant that shall not be forgotten." The sermons were long, but delivered, says Neal, with a great deal of caution: the house gave them thanks, and a piece of plate for their labors. The bishops of Durham and Carlisle preached before the House of Lords in the Abbey

“ a great number of petitions was presented both from particular persons, and some from multitudes, and brought by troops of horsemen from several counties, craving redress of grievances in church and state.” *

Among the grievances of religion, one of the first things that came before the house was the acts and canons of the late convocation. Several virulent speeches were made against the compilers. Neal says that no one stood up in the behalf of the canons but Mr. Holbourn, who is said to have made a speech of two hours in their vindication; † but his arguments made no impression on the house, so that at the close of the debate it was unanimously resolved,—

“ That the clergy of England, convened in any convocation or synod, or otherwise, have no power to make any constitutions, canons, or acts

Church of Westminster. On the following Sunday all the members received the sacrament from the hands of Bishop Williams, Dean of Westminster. See Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 348.

* Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, part i, p. 3. “ The first step they made was the entertaining *petitions of grievances* from all parts of the realm, which made such a noise, as if the subjects of England had suffered under the greatest slavery and oppression that had ever been heard of; and, (being devised and framed by themselves,) were received with such great acceptance, as that the people began to shew no small expressions of joy in their new reformers.” Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles in England, p. 66.

† History of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 350.

whatsoever, in matters of doctrine, discipline, or otherwise, to bind the clergy or laity of the land, without consent of parliament.

“ That the several constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, treated and agreed upon with the king’s licence, by the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of the provinces of Canterbury and York in their several synods in the year 1640, do not bind the clergy or laity of the land, or either of them.

“ That the several constitutions or canons, made and agreed to in the convocations or synods above mentioned, do contain in them many matters contrary to the king’s prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of this realm, to the rights of parliament, to the prosperity and liberty of the subject, and matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence.

“ That the several grants of benevolences or contributions, granted to his most excellent Majesty by the clergy, in the several convocations or synods above mentioned, are contrary to the laws, and ought not to bind the clergy.”

Upon the same day that the house of commons passed the above resolutions, of which it may be said, that they manifested more of anger and prejudice, than of law or reason, several warm speeches were made against the archbishop of Canterbury, as the chief author of them ; and a

committee was appointed to enquire more particularly, how far His Grace had been concerned in the proceedings of the late convocation, and in the treasonable design of subverting the religion and laws of his country, in order to draw up articles or charge against him. At the same time a charge was laid against him in the house of peers by the Scots commissioners, which being read by Lord Paget, was then reported to the commons at a conference between the two houses. This charge consisted of divers grievances, which occasioned much disturbance in Scotland. When this charge was reported to the commons, the resentment of the house against the archbishop immediately broke out into a flame, and many severe speeches were made against his late conduct. Sir Harbottle Grimstone, speaker of that parliament which restored Charles II. moved that the charge of the Scots commissioners might be supported by an impeachment of their own; and that the question might now be put, whether the archbishop *had been guilty of high treason?* Which being voted, Mr. Hollis was immediately sent up to the bar of the house of Lords to impeach him in the name of all the commons of England. Afterwards the archbishop was delivered to the custody of the Usher of the Black Rod, till the house of commons should deliver in their articles of impeachment.

Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Maynard, by order of the commons, presented at the bar of the house of Lords, fourteen articles in support of their former charge of high treason against the archbishop, which being read, the archbishop made a short reply, and the lords voted him to the tower, where he continued three or four years before his trial came on.

As to the convocation which attended this parliament, it was, as usual, summoned and opened Nov. 4th, 1640. Dr. Bargrave, dean of Canterbury preached, and Dr. Steward, dean of Chichester, was chosen prolocutor, and was presented to the archbishop's acceptance in King Henry VIIIth's chapel, when His Grace made a pathetic speech, lamenting the danger of the church, and exhorting every one present to perform the duty of their places with resolution, and not to be wanting to themselves, or to the cause of religion. Nothing of importance was transacted in this convocation, the times being so turbulent, and there being no commission from the king. The bishops discontinued their meeting, and the lower house gradually dwindled away. A Mr. Warminstre, a clergyman of the diocese of Worcester, convinced of the invalidity of the late canons, moved in this convocation, that "they might cover the pit which they had opened," and so prevent a parliamentary inquisition, by petitioning the King

for leave to review them;—his motion was rejected, for they would not appear so mean as to condemn themselves before they were accused. Mr. Warminstre published a defence of his motion, wherein he bitterly speaks against the canons and proceedings of the late convocation: but in the sufferings of the clergy he was not spared from being sequestered.*

Before archbishop Laud was confined in the tower, the parliament released most of the church and state prisoners. Nov. 16th, Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, was discharged from his imprisonment in the tower, and his fine remitted. The following day being a public fast, he officiated as dean in the abbey church of Westminster.

When Dr. Williams, after his release, resumed his seat in the house of Lords, he conducted himself with more temper than could be expected; whereupon his Majesty sent for him, and endeavoured to gain him over, by promising to make him full satisfaction for his past sufferings: in order to which, his Majesty commanded all the judgments that were entered against him to be discharged, and within a twelvemonth translated him to the archbishoprick of York, with leave to

* Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 460. Warner's *Eccles. Hist.* b. xv, p. 557, &c. Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. ii, p. 354, Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i, p. 7; and part ii, p. 408.

hold his deanery of Westminster *in commendam* for three years.

Mr. Prynne, Mr. Burton and Dr. Bastwick, being remanded from the several islands to which they had been confined, upon their petition to the house of commons, were met some miles out of London by a great number of people on horseback, with rosemary and bays in their hats, and escorted into the city in a kind of a triumph. Though these persons were severely punished, and perhaps in a great measure unjustly, yet the factious and hostile disposition of their deliverers manifests such a rancour as nothing could allay but the total destruction of church and state. In a few weeks after, the house of commons, in order to shew that they were in earnest about overthrowing the church, came to the following resolutions: "That the several judgments against them were illegal, unjust, and against the liberty of the subject: that their several fines be remitted: that they be restored to their several possessions: and that for reparation of their losses, Mr. Burton ought to have £6000, and Mr. Prynne and Dr. Bastwick £5000. each, out of the estates of the archbishop of Canterbury, the high commissioners, and those lords, who have voted against them in the star-chamber; but the confusion of the times prevented the payment of the money.

About the same time, Dr. Alexander Leighton, Dr. Osbaldeston, and others were set at liberty.

As the house of commons declared the imprisonment of these persons illegal, consequently they made enquiry after their persecutors. In the month of January, 1640--1, Dr. Cosins, prebendary of Durham, afterwards bishop of Durham, was one of the first persons, who suffered in the cause of the church of England in those troublesome times: he was taken into custody by order of the house, and was voted unfit to hold any ecclesiastical promotion, on account of some pretended innovations which he had introduced into the cathedral of Durham. He, foreseeing the impending storm, withdrew into France, where he remained till the restoration of Charles II, by whom he was made bishop of Durham.

Dr. Matthew Wren, late bishop of Norwich, and now of Ely, having used much severity against the puritan clergy in his diocese, the inhabitants of Ipswich drew up a petition against him, and presented it to the house, Dec. 22, 1640.* Upon which a charge was exhibited against him, consisting of twenty-five articles. It stated, that

* Nalson's Collections, p. 692. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 370. See Brook's Lives of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 410.

during the time of his being the bishop of Norwich, which was about two years, fifty ministers had been excommunicated, suspended, and deprived, for not reading the second service at the communion table, for not reading the *book of sports*, for using conceived prayers before the afternoon sermon, &c: and that by his rigorous severities, many of his Majesty's subjects, to the number of three thousand, had removed themselves and families into Holland, and set up their manufactories there, to the great injury of the trade of this kingdom. The bill was carried to the house of lords, and the bishop gave bond for his appearance. Some time after, the commons voted him unfit to hold any ecclesiastical preferment. Both lords and commons petitioned the king to remove him from his person and service; after which he was imprisoned with the other protesting bishops. When released, he retired to his house at Downham in the isle of Ely, where he was apprehended by a party of soldiers, and conveyed to the Tower, where he continued till the end of the year 1659, without being brought to his trial, or any charge or accusation formed against him. He was the first bishop that was deprived by the parliament: however, he survived all his troubles and sufferings, and was restored by Charles II. to his bishoprick. He bore his troubles with much

patience and magnanimity, and died in the eighty-first year of his age.*

Complaints were made against several other bishops and clergymen, as Dr. Pierce, bishop of Bath and Wells; Dr. Montague, bishop of Norwich; Dr. Owen, bishop of Llandaff; and Dr. Manwaring, bishop of St. David's: but the house was now too much occupied with other affairs, to have time to prosecute them, and *vote them unfit* for ecclesiastical promotions.

The clamour against the clergy was now become so violent, that they could hardly officiate in the established form, or walk the streets without being insulted. The Liturgy was called a lifeless form of worship, and a quenching of the Holy Spirit. Immense numbers of petitions were sent up to "the committee of religion" from all parts of the country against the clergy, complaining of superstitious impositions, the immoral conduct of the clergy, and neglect of their cures. Lord Clarendon observes, that many of these petitions were got up in very unfair ways, in those times of iniquity and confusion: and Dr. Warner says, that, "encouraged by the appearances of a favourable disposition in the commons to redress the grievances of religion, the petulant humour of

* Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 370. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, part ii, p. 21.

every enthusiast was indulged in subscribing petitions against the church; and the greatest unfairness was made use of to swell the list.*

The spirit of the populace was now such, that it was difficult to prevent their outrunning authority, and tearing down in a tumultuous manner what they were told had been set up illegally. At St. Saviour's, Southwark, the mob pulled down the rails about the communion table. At Halsted, in Essex, they tore the surplice, and abused the liturgy: and when the commons were assembled in St. Margaret's, Westminster, as the clergyman was commencing the communion service at the communion table, some of the rabble at the lower end of the church began to sing a psalm, in which the congregation joined, so that the minister was obliged to desist. But in order to prevent any such disorders in future, the lords and commons passed a severe sentence on the rioters, and published the following order, dated Jan. 16, 1640--1, appointing it to be read in all the churches of London, Westminster, and Southwark—"That divine service shall be performed as it is appointed by the acts of parliament of this realm; and that all such as

* Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. i, p. 203. Warner's Eccles. Hist. of England, vol. ii, p. 537. See also Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, part i, p. 8.

disturb that wholesome order shall be severely punished by law.* And it was also added, "That the parsons, vicars, and curates of the several parishes shall forbear to introduce any rites or ceremonies that may give offence, otherwise than those which are established by the laws of the land."

About this time the house of commons arbitrarily settled puritanical preachers and lecturers in most of the considerable churches, so that the pulpits now sounded with abundance of faction and fanaticism. Commissioners were also ordered to be sent into every county, to "deface, demolish, and remove out of churches and chapels, all images, altars, or tables turned *altarwise*, crucifixes, pictures, and other monuments and *relics of idolatry*." In consequence of this commission, the Cross in Cheapside, Charing Cross, was taken down; and also the famous St. Paul's Cross was demolished.*

* Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i, pp. 24, 26. Nalson's *Collections*, vol. ii, p. 271. Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. ii, p. 372.

† St. Paul's Cross "was a pulpit of wood, covered with lead in the form of a cross, and mounted on several flights of stone steps, and placed about the middle of St. Paul's churchyard, in which more learned men appeared, and out of which more sound and good divinity had been delivered, than perhaps any one pulpit since the first preaching of the Gospel could ever glory in; and particularly under that (*now idolatrous*) banner

It is easy to perceive that the commons, who were so forward to complain on all occasions of the arbitrary power of the king, exceeded, in this instance, their own authority, and placed arbitrary power in the hands of those commissioners. In order to maintain this arbitrary power, the house of commons judged it requisite to encourage their *friends* particularly to countenance the puritans, to whose assistance and influence they were already so much obliged, and thus to contrive to overawe their enemies. To every one who impartially views the political factions of those times, it is evident that many of the puritans, though pious, good, and conscientious men, were made tools to promote the designs of this parliament. Every meeting of the commons was now productive of some vehement harangue against the usurpation of the bishops, the high commission, the late convocation, and the new canons. Such invectives were received without any controul. And no distinction at first appeared between those who desired only to reform the abuses which had crept into the church, and those who wished totally to annihilate episcopal jurisdiction.*

of the cross, more learning against popery and all real idolatry had been shewn, than those new reformers were ever masters of."—Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i, p. 24.

* Warner's *Eccles. Hist. of England*, vol. ii, pp. 536, 537.

It was manifest that the destruction of the church was intended, since its ministers and liturgy were so virulently attacked. The debates in parliament concerning the liturgy and episcopacy, now engaged the attention of the whole nation. A great number of seditious pamphlets issued from the press against the church, written in the most scurrilous and indecent language. Bishop Hall, in his "Defence of the Humble Remonstrance against the frivolous and false Exceptions of *Smectymnus*," says, "Fain would you excuse that which the world cries shame on: the multitude of the late seditious pamphlets; whereat you might well blush in silence, when an honourable person, in open parliament, could reckon up no less than *seven score* that had passed the press since the beginning of this session."* Bishop Hall, lamenting the iniquitous attacks on the church, made, on this occasion, the following earnest appeal to the house of lords in behalf of the church.

"My Lords:

I have long held my peace, and meant to have done so still: but now, like to Cræsus's mute son, I must break silence. I humbly beseech your Lordships to give me leave, to take this too just

* Bishop Hall's Works, vol. ix, p. 644.

occasion to move your Lordships to take into your deep and serious consideration the woeful and lamentable condition of the poor Church of England, your dear Mother.

My Lords, this was not wont to be her stile. We have, heretofore, talked of the famous and flourishing Church of England: but now, your Lordships must give me leave to say, that the poor Church of England humbly prostrates herself, next after his Sacred Majesty, at your Lordships' feet; and humbly craves your compassion and present aid.

My Lords, it is a foul and dangerous insolence, this, which is now complained of to you; but it is but one of a hundred of those, which have been of late done to this Church and Government.

The Church of England, as your Lordships cannot choose but know, hath been and is miserably infested on both sides: with Papists, on the one side; and Schismatics, on the other. The Psalmist hath, of old, distinguished the enemies of it, into *wild boars* out of the wood, and *little foxes* out of the burrows: the one whereof goes about to root up the very foundation of religion; the other to crop the branches, and blossoms, and clusters thereof: both of them conspire the utter ruin and devastation of it.

As for the former of them, I do perceive a great deal of good zeal, for the remedy and sup-

pression of them: and I do heartily congratulate it; and bless God for it; and beseech him to prosper it, in those hands, that shall undertake and prosecute it.

But, for the other, give me leave to say, I do not find many, that are sensible of the danger of it; which yet, in my apprehension, is very great and apparent. Alas! my Lords, I beseech you to consider what it is: That there should be in London and the Suburbs and Liberties, no fewer than fourscore congregations of several sectaries, as I have been too credibly informed; instructed by guides fit for them, Coblers, Tailors, Feltmakers, and such like trash: which are all taught to spit in the face of their Mother, the Church of England; and to defy and revile her government. From hence have issued those dangerous assaults of our Church-Governors: from hence, that inundation of base and scurrilous libels and pamphlets, wherewith we have been of late overborne; in which Papists and Prelates, like oxen in a yoke, are still matched together. O my Lords, I beseech you, that you will be sensible of this great indignity. Do but look upon these reverend persons. Do not your Lordships see here, sitting upon these benches, those, that have spent their time, their strength, their bodies and lives, in preaching down, in writing down Popery? and which would be ready

if occasion where offered, to sacrifice all their old blood that remains to the maintenance of that truth of God, which they have taught and written? And shall we be thus despitefully ranged with them, whom we do thus professedly oppose? But, alas! this is but one of those many scandalous aspersions and intolerable affronts, that are daily cast upon us. Now whither should we, in this case, have recourse for a needful and seasonable redress? The arm of the Church is, alas! now short and sinewless: it is the interposing of your authority that must rescue us. You are the eldest sons of your dear Mother, the Church; and, therefore, most fit and most able to vindicate her wrongs. You are *Amici Sponsæ*; give me leave, therefore, in the bowels of Christ humbly to beseech your Lordships, to be tenderly sensible of these woeful and dangerous conditions of the times. And, if the Government of the Church of England be unlawful and unfit, abandon and disclaim it; but if otherwise, uphold and maintain it. Otherwise, if these lawless outrages be yet suffered to gather head, who knows where they will end? My Lords, if these men may, with impunity and freedom, thus bear down Ecclesiastical Authority, it is to be feared they will not rest there; but will be ready to affront Civil Power too. Your Lordships know, that the Jack Straws, and Cades, and Wat Tylers of former

times, did not more cry down learning than nobility: and those of your Lordships, that have read the history of the Anabaptistical tumults at Munster, will need no other item: let it be enough to say, that many of these Sectaries are of the same profession. Shortly, therefore, let me humbly move your Lordships to take these dangers and miseries of this poor Church deeply to heart: and, upon this occasion, to give order for the speedy redressing of these horrible insolencies; and for the stopping of that deluge of libellous invectives, wherewith we are thus impetuously overflown. Which, in all due submission, I humbly present to your Lordships' wise and religious consideration." *

* Bishop Hall's Works, vol. x, pp. 65, 66.

CHAPTER VI.

UPON the gathering of the present storm, Bishop Hall came forward a second time as a strenuous champion in defence of the church of England. He published "An Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament," in which treatise he vindicated the antiquity of liturgies and episcopacy with admirable skill, meekness, and simplicity; yet with such strength of argument, that five presbyterian divines "clubbed their wits together to frame an answer." These dissenting ministers were Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow. Their performance bore the strange title of "*Smectymnuus*, or An Answer to an Humble Remonstrance, &c." This fictitious word is made up of the initial letters of the names of the above authors. Bishop Hall, in his reply entitled "A Defence of that Remonstrance," alluding to his antagonists, merrily says, "My single Remonstrance is encountered with a *plural adversary*, that talks in the style of

"We" and "Us." Their names, persons, qualities, numbers, I care not to know: but could they say, "*my name is Legion, for we are many*;" or, were they as many legions as men; my cause, yea God's, would bid me to meet them undismayed, and to say with holy David, "Though a host should encamp against me, my heart shall not fear." Ps. xxvii, 3. Bishop Hall proceeds with much composure to point out the *bulk* of his adversaries' performance, their trifling cavils, and their inveterate malice against episcopacy: and, with his usual ability and learning, demonstrates the antiquity of forms of prayers, and the Apostolical institution of episcopacy. In a word, this reply is a complete refutation of the arguments of the bishop's adversaries.

It is said of the treatise of *Smectymnuus* that it is "certainly written with great fierceness of spirit and much asperity in language, containing eighteen sections, in the last of which the differences between the prelatists and puritans are aggravated with great bitterness."* Bishop Hall, at the end of his "Defence of the Humble Remonstrance," speaks of the last section of *Smectymnuus* thus: "The rest that remains, is but mere declamation, not worthy of any answer, but contempt and silence,"

* Brook's Lives of the Puritans, vol. iii, p. 246.

In this controversy, no one can say that Bishop Hall has used "asperity of language," or manifested bitterness of spirit: on the contrary, he has written with the simplicity of a primitive christian bishop; with confidence of the goodness of the cause; with brotherly respect to his opponents: his language is energetic, yet temperate, courteous, and chaste.

The bishop terminates this controversy by a tract called "A Short Answer to the Tedious Vindication of *Smectymnus*," in which he vindicates, with great strength of argument, what he had already advanced in defence of liturgies and episcopacy: refutes his opponents' cavils and subterfuges, and challenges them to produce any settled national church in the whole christian world that has been otherwise governed than by bishops, in a meet and moderate parity, ever since the time of Christ and his apostles, until this present age." *

It is proper here to observe, that, though Bishop Hall proves that there always had been a *form* of prayer used in the public worship of God, both in the Jewish and christian church; yet he does not disapprove of the use of extemporary prayer on certain occasions, but confesses that he made use of both ways. "Far be it from me,"

* Bishop Hall's Works, vol. ix, pp. 591, 768.

says he, "to dishearten any good christian from the use of conceived prayer, in his private devotions, and upon occasion also in public. I would hate to be guilty of pouring so much water upon the Spirit; to which I shall gladly add oil rather. No; let the full soul freely pour out itself in gracious expressions of its holy thoughts, into the bosom of the Almighty. Let both the sudden flashes of our quick ejaculations, and the constant flames of our more fixed conceptions, mount up from the altar of a zealous heart unto the throne of grace: and if there be some stops or solecisms in the fervent utterance of our private wants, these are so far from being offensive, that they are the most pleasing music to the ears of that God unto whom our prayers come. Let them be broken off with sobs, and sighs, and incongruities of our delivery, our good God is no otherwise affected to this imperfect elocution, than an indulgent parent is to the clipped and broken language of his dear child, which is more delightful to him than any other's smooth oratory. This is not to be opposed in another, by any man, that hath found the true operation of this grace in himself."* "What have I professed," says he again, concerning conceived prayer, "but that which I ever allowed, ever practised, both in private and

* Bishop Hall's Works, vol. ix, p. 629, &c.

public? God is a free Spirit, and so should ours be, in pouring out our voluntary devotions upon all occasions. Nothing hinders, but that this liberty and a public liturgy should be good friends, and may go hand in hand together. And whosoever would forcibly sever them, let them bear their own blame." And again, in his "Answer to Smectymnuus' Vindication," he says, "you tell me of thousands, who desire to worship God with devout hearts, that cannot be easily persuaded that these set forms, though never so free from just exceptions, will prove so great a help to their devotion: I tell you of many more thousands than they, and no less devoutly affected, that bless God to have found this happy and comfortable effect in the fore-set prayers of the church. Neither doth this plead at all against the use of present conception, whether in praying or preaching; or derogate any thing from that reverent and pious esteem of conceived prayer, which I have formerly professed. Surely I do from my soul honour both: I gladly make use of both; and praise God for them, as the gracious exercises of christian piety, and the effectual furtherances of salvation. There is place enough for them both: they need not jostle each other." *

* Bishop Hall's Works, vol. ix, pp. 651, 760.

While this controversy was debating at home, letters were

Perhaps the controversy between Bishop Hall and these dissenting divines might have been compromised, if there had not been a determined resolution in several persons then in power to demolish the established church: in which resolution they were greatly assisted by many of those called puritans, who were of turbulent spirits, and inveterate against church and state. And at the same time it must be allowed, that if the rest of the bishops and clergy had been of the same spirit and temper as Bishop Hall, probably things would not have been carried to such extremes. But divine providence so ordered it,

sent from both sides to obtain the judgment of foreign divines; but most of them gave no reply. Dr. Plume, in the life of Bishop Hacket, writes, that Blondel, Vossius, Hornbeck, and Salmasius, were sent to by his Majesty's friends in vain. Blondel published a treatise on the dissenters' side; but Deodote of Geneva, Amyraldus of France, wished an accommodation, and were for episcopal government. The papists triumphed, and their expectations were raised on account of these differences, as appears by a letter of T. White, a papist, to the Lord Viscount Gage, of Dublin, Feb. 12, 1639: "We are in a fair way to assuage heresy and her episcopacy; for *Exeter's* book has done more for the catholics than they could have done for themselves, he having written that episcopacy in office and jurisdiction is absolutely *jure divino*, (which was the old quarrel between our bishops and King Henry VIII, during his heresy;) which book does not a little trouble our adversaries, who declare this tenet of *Exeter's* to be contrary to the laws of this land. All is like to prosper here, so I hope with you there." These were the wishes, and the sentiment of the papists then respecting Bishop Hall's writings on episcopacy. —See "*Foxes and Firebrands*," part ii, p. 81; and Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. ii, p. 389.

that the arbitrary power then in church and state should be punished, and that the unrestrained outrages of civil and religious faction should be at the same time exemplified, that all future ages might take warning against fostering a seditious, factious, and party spirit.

As this parliament increased in power, the puritan divines took advantage of it, and *stiffened* in their demands, till methods of accommodation were utterly impracticable.* And, as the utter subversion of the church was contemplated, the industry of the several parties to get signatures to petitions, is almost incredible : and, as it was then the fashion to judge of the sense of the nation this way, messengers were sent all over England to promote petitions and procure signatures. Lord Clarendon, Dr. Nalson, and others, complain of great disingenuity on the side of those who were ill-affected to the church. The noble historian says, " That the paper which contained the minister's petition was filled with a very few hands, but that many other sheets were annexed for the reception of numbers, that gave credit to the undertaking : but that when their names were subscribed, the petition itself was cut off, and a new one of a very different nature annexed to the

* Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 388.

long list of names: and when some of the ministers complained to the Rev. Mr. Marshall, with whom the petition was lodged, that they never saw the petition to which their hands were annexed, but had signed another against the oath enjoined in the new canons. When they found their names set to a petition for an alteration in the government of the church, they remonstrated for this disingenuity. Mr. Marshall, it is said, replied, that it was thought fit by those who understood business better than they, that the latter petition should rather be preferred than the former.”*

It must be allowed that very unfair means were employed to get signatures to petitions at this time: and many subscribed their names who were not at all capable of judging the merits of the cause. There were two kinds of petitions against the church. Some petitioned the destruction of the whole fabric: a petition, therefore, was got up, and subscribed by above fifteen thousand inhabitants of London; this complained of the government of the church by archbishops, bishops, deans, &c. and prayed that the said government, with all its dependencies, *Root and Branch*, might be abolished. This extraordinary

* Clarendon, vol. i, p. 204. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i, p. 8. Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. ii, p. 390.

bill was therefore cantingly termed the *Root and Branch* petition. There were also others who only aimed at the reformation of some things in the government of the church: a petition, therefore, called the *ministers' petition*, was drawn up, and signed by seven hundred beneficed clergymen; this was followed by others, signed by a vast number of hands, from Kent, Gloucestershire, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, and other counties. Though the enemies of episcopacy were extremely busy, yet there were great efforts made in favor of the constitution; for, in 1641 and the following year, there were no less than nineteen petitions presented to the king, and the house of lords, from the two universities, from Cheshire, Nottinghamshire, Somersetshire, Rutlandshire, Staffordshire, Kent, North Wales, Lancashire, Herefordshire, Huntingdonshire, Cornwall, Oxfordshire, &c. There was also a petition from the diocese of Exeter, signed by about eight thousand names; which, of course, was promoted by Bishop Hall and his clergy. The petitions in favor of the church were subscribed by above one hundred thousand hands! six thousand were nobility, gentry, and dignified clergy.*

These petitions in favor of the church, signed

* Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i, p. 10.

by so vast a number, carried no weight with them; they were not at all countenanced, but were, in fact, rejected. The house was displeased with those who made them, discouraged any more attempts of the kind, and was presumptuous enough to complain to, and remonstrate with the king for his receiving them.*

It would be too tedious to give an account of all the petitions against episcopacy: let it suffice, however, to add, that even the *apprentices* of London made a petition to the king, desiring among other things, "*that prelacy might be rooted up.*" The very *porters* also petitioned against episcopacy as a *burthen* too heavy for *their shoulders*.†

The *root and branch* petition, mentioned above, was presented to the committee of religion, Dec. 11, 1640, by Alderman Pennington, in the name of his Majesty's subjects in and about the city of London, and adjacent counties. It inclosed a schedule of eight and twenty grievances: the chief of which were, the suspension and deprivation of ministers by the bishops, for not conforming to the rites and ceremonies of the church—the discouragement of preaching—the bishops' claim of divine right—the Oath *ex officio*—and the

* Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, part ii, p. 10.

† Fuller's Church Hist. cent. 17, p. 185.

exorbitant power of the high commission court. In order to obtain redress of these grievances, the petitioners were so very *modest* as only to desire that episcopacy with all its dependances, *root and branch*, might be abolished.

At this time, however, the house was not of that malignant spirit against the church, which it afterwards manifested, for the utmost which could be obtained, after a long debate upon the petition, was, that *it should not be rejected*—that *it should remain in the hands of the clerk of the house, and that no copy of it should be given.**

The following extracts from the speeches of Lords Digby and Falkland on this occasion, shew us the malignity and presumption of this petition. Lord Digby says, “I know not whether it be more preposterous to infer the extirpation of bishops from such weak arguments, or to attribute, as they do, to church government all the civil grievances; not a patent, not a monopoly, not the price of a commodity raised, but these men make the bishops the cause of it. For the bold part of this petition, Sir, what can be of greater presumption than for the petitioners not only to prescribe to the parliament what and how it shall do, but for a multitude to teach a parlia-

* Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i, p. 8. Warner's *Eccles. Hist. of England*, vol. ii, p. 537.

ment what is, and what is not, the government according to God's word. Besides, what is the petition against? Is it not against the government of the church of England established by acts of parliament, against the liturgy, and against the several forms of divine service, ratified by the same authority? Episcopacy is a function, deduced through all ages of Christ's church from the apostles' times, and continued the most venerable and sacred order ecclesiastical; a function dignified by the learning and piety of many fathers of the church, glorified by so many martyrdoms in the primitive times, and some since our own blessed reformation; a government admired, I speak it knowingly, by the learnedest of the reformed churches abroad; and lastly, a government under which, till these late years, this church hath so flourished and fructified." Lord Falkland, who, according to Clarendon's opinion, was the most extraordinary man of his age, after speaking with severity against some of the bishops, adds, "And now, even in this great defect of the order, there have been some that have been neither proud nor ambitious; some that have been learned opposers of popery, and zealous suppressors of Arminianism; between whom and their inferior clergy, there have been no distinctions in frequent preaching; whose lives are untouched, not only by guilt, but by malice,

scarce to be equalled by those of any condition, or excelled by those in any calendar.* This part of Lord Falkland's speech is truly descriptive of Bishop Hall's character, and in every point agrees with what the bishop says of himself in his "Letter sent from the Tower to a private friend:" it is highly probable that Lord Falkland had Bishop Hall particularly in view. Both Lord Digby and Lord Falkland were at this time very zealous for redress of grievances in the church; Bishop Hall also, and some others of the bishops, were disposed to remove every offensive innovation out of the church, and to comply with every requisite reform; but unhappily on the one hand nothing would satisfy but the demolition of the church *root and branch*, and on the other, many

* Warner's Eccles. Hist. of Eng. vol. ii, p. 538. During this debate the following *repartees* passed between Mr. Grimstone and Mr. Seldon:—Mr. G. argued "that bishops are *jure divino* is a question; that archbishops are not *jure divino* is out of question; now that bishops which are questioned whether *jure divino*, or archbishops which out of question are not *jure divino*, should suspend ministers which are *jure divino*, I leave to you to be considered." Mr. Seldon replied, "that the convocation is *jure divino* is a question; that parliaments are not *jure divino* is out of the question; that religion is *jure divino* is no question; now that the convocation which is questionable whether *jure divino*, and parliaments which out of the question are not *jure divino*, should meddle with religion which questionless is *jure divino*, I leave to your consideration." Seldon's argument is considered by Bishop Warburton, as a thorough confutation of Grimstone's. Vide Neal, vol. ii, p. 405.

of the bishops were not at all disposed to comply with any reform.

In the petition in favour of the church, signed by a great number of the nobility, gentry, and dignified clergy, in opposition to the *root and branch* petition, it was stated, "That episcopacy is as ancient as christianity itself in this kingdom—that bishops were the chief instruments in the reformation of the church against popery, and afterwards the most eminent martyrs for the protestant religion, and since, the best and ablest champions for the defence of it. That since the reformation the times have been very peaceable, happy, and glorious, notwithstanding the episcopal government in the church, and therefore that this government can be no cause of our unhappiness. That not only many learned, but divers other godly persons, would be much scandalized and troubled in conscience, if the government of episcopacy, conceived by them to be an apostolical institution, were altered; and since there is so much care taken, that no man should be offended in the least ceremony, we hope there will be some, that such men's consciences may not be pressed upon in a matter of an higher nature and consequence, especially considering that this government by episcopacy is not only lawful and convenient for edification, but likewise suitable to, and agreeable with the civil policy and govern-

ment of this state. That this government is lawful, it appears by the immediate, universal, and constant practice of all the christian world, grounded upon scripture, from the apostles' time, to this last age, for above fifteen hundred years together, it being utterly incredible, if not impossible, that the whole church, for so long a time, should not discover, by God's word, this government to be unlawful, if it had been so; to which may be added, that the most learned protestants, even in those very churches which now are not governed by bishops, do not only hold the government by episcopacy to be lawful, but wish that they themselves might enjoy it. That the government by episcopacy is not only lawful but convenient for edification, and as much or more conducing to piety and devotion than any other, because no modest man denies that the primitive times were most famous for piety, constancy and perseverance in the faith, notwithstanding more frequent, and more cruel persecutions than ever have been since, and yet it is confessed that the church in those times was governed by bishops. That the government of the church by episcopacy is most suitable to the form and frame of the civil government here in this kingdom, it appears by the happy and flourishing union of them both for so long a time together; whereas no man can give us an assurance how any church government

besides this (whereof we have had so long experience) will suit and agree with the civil policy of the state."

The humble request of the petitioners was, "that they may still enjoy that government which most probably holds its institution from the apostles, and most certainly its plantation with our christian faith itself in this kingdom, where it hath ever since flourished and continued for many ages without any interruption or alteration; whereby it plainly appears, that as it is the most excellent government in itself, so it is the most suitable, most agreeable, and every way most proportionable to the civil constitution and temper of this state."

The petition called the *ministers' petition* was presented to the house Jan. 23, 1640--1, by ten or twelve clergymen: it was pretended to be signed by about seven hundred ministers of London and of the adjacent counties. It prayed for a reformation of certain grievances in the establishment, and was referred to the committee of religion. The three following articles were reported as proper to the consideration of the house:—"1. The secular employments of the clergy. 2. The sole power of the bishops in ecclesiastical affairs, and particularly in ordinations and church censures. 3. The large revenues of deans and chapters, with the incon-

veniences that attend the application of them.”* The house having debated upon the first article, agreed “ That the legislative and judicial power of bishops in the house of peers, is a great hinderance to the discharge of their spiritual function, prejudicial to the commonwealth, and fit to be taken away : that for bishops or any other clergyman to be in the commission of the peace, or to have any judicial power in the star-chamber, or in any civil court, is a great hinderance to the discharge of their spiritual function, and prejudicial to the commonwealth, and fit to be taken away; and that a bill be brought in to that purpose.

According to these resolutions, a bill was brought into the house of commons, to exclude all ecclesiastics from civil employments, and the bishops in particular from a right of sitting in the house of lords. The noble historian informs us, that this bill “ was contrived with great deliberation and preparation, to dispose men to consent to it,” and that the reception of it was “ the first design that was entertained against the church.” The leaders among the puritanical party took great pains to dispose the minds

* Warner's Eccles. Hist. of Eng. vol. ii, p. 538. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, part i, p. 15. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 305.

of members well affected to the church, to concur with them in this bill. Indeed many persons of integrity and judgment then believed that the passing this bill was the only expedient to preserve the church. Mr. Hampden assured Lord Falkland, "that if this bill might pass, there would be nothing more attempted to the prejudice of the church, which he thought, as the world then went, would be no ill composition." The same insidious artifice was probably employed with other members; to which it was added, "how advantageous it would be for the king to have at his pleasure so great a number of voices among the Lords, and consequently how improbable it would be to succeed in the reformation of abuses, while the bishops had votes in the house of peers." As the rigid puritans dared not as yet openly to discover their destructive vows against the church, and seemed to have no other view in the expulsion of the bishops than to facilitate the redress of grievances, so there were churchmen who were of opinion it would do no harm, if ecclesiastical persons had fewer avocations from their profession, and that the passing of this bill would be an expedient to prevent any further attempts against the church.

The king, being informed of these proceedings, declared in a speech his readiness to concur

with the parliament in a redress of grievances in church and state; but, though he was for a reform, he would not consent to a change of government. He was not unwilling that the exorbitant power and encroachments of the bishops, if there had been any such, should be redressed like all other abuses; but he should not consent that their voices in parliament should be taken away, which they had enjoyed ever since the conquest. However, the royal speech being looked upon as unparliamentary, did the cause no service; it was premature, as the house as yet was not disposed to bring in a bill for the subversion of the church.

It seemed also, that, in case this bill should be rejected, the puritanical party would be exceedingly displeased, who, as being supported by the Scots, were now very powerful: it was indeed by their means in a great measure that the parliament was enabled to proceed in the work of redressing grievances. Wherefore the bill for suppressing the temporal jurisdiction of the bishops and clergy, and excluding the former from the house of lords, passed the commons by a great majority: but when it was sent up to the house of lords, May 1, 1641, it met with vigorous opposition.* Many of the greatest men in that

* Fuller says, (Ch. Hist. b. ix, p. 185.) that Lord Kimbolton

house grew weary of the malignant presumption of the commons, and observed that they had "worse designs than they owned:" so those peers, who had hitherto concurred with them, deserted them on this occasion, and severely inveighed against their projects. The bill, therefore, after a second reading, was thrown out, without so much as being committed, even by a majority of temporal lords, without the votes of the bishops being reckoned. If the lords temporal were so far disposed as to comply to exclude the bishops and clergy from all secular offices and employments in the state, they would not at all comply to deprive them of their votes in parliament.

The principal speakers in the house of lords in behalf of the bishops, were Lord Viscount Newark, afterwards the Earl of Kingston, the Marquis of Hereford, the Earls of Southampton, Bath and Bristol, Dr. Williams bishop of Lincoln, afterwards archbishop of York, and Bishop Hall, who on this occasion, made the following excellent speech concerning the power of bishops in secular things :

would have persuaded the bishops to resign their votes, adding, that then the temporal lords would be obliged in honor to preserve their jurisdiction and revenues. But they would hearken to no such thing, resolving to keep possession of their seats till a superior force should dispossess them.

"My Lords :

This is the strangest bill, that ever I heard, since I was admitted to sit under this roof: for it strikes at the very fabric and composition of this house; at the style of all laws: and, therefore, were it not that it comes from such a recommendation, it would not, I suppose, undergo any long consideration; but, coming to us from such hands, it cannot but be worthy of your best thoughts.

And, truly, for the main scope of the bill, I shall yield it most willingly, that ecclesiastical and sacred persons should not ordinarily be taken up with secular affairs. The minister is called *Vir Dei*, "a man of God:" he may not be *Vir Seculi*. He may lend himself to them, upon occasion: he may not give himself over purposely to them. Shortly, he may not so attend worldly things, as that he do neglect divine things. This we gladly yield. Matters of justice, therefore, are not proper, as in an ordinary trade, for our function; and, by my consent, shall be, as in a generality, waved and deserted: which, for my part, I never have meddled with, but in a charitable way; with no profit, but some charge to myself, whereof I shall be glad to be eased. *Tractent fabrilis fabri*; as the old word is.

But, if any man shall hence think to infer, that some spiritual person may not occasionally be in a

special service of his king or country; and, when he is so required by his prince, give his advice in the urgent affairs of the kingdom, which I suppose is the main point driven at; it is such an inconsequence, as I dare boldly say cannot be made good, either by divinity or reason; by the laws either of God or man: whereas the contrary may be proved and enforced by both.

As for the grounds of this bill, that the minister's duty is so great, that it is able to take up the whole man, and the Apostle saith, *τις ικανος, Who is sufficient for these things?* and that, *he, who warfares, to God, should not entangle himself with this world;* it is a sufficient and just conviction of those, who would divide themselves betwixt God and the world, and bestow any main part of their time upon secular affairs: but it hath no operation at all upon this tenet, which we have in hand; that a man, dedicate to God, may not so much as, when he is required, cast a glance of his eye, or some minutes of time, or some motions of his tongue, upon the public business of his king and country. Those, that expect this from us, may as well, and upon the same reason, hold that a minister must have no family at all; or, if he have one, must not care for it: yea, that he must have no body to tend; but be all spirit.

My lords, we are men of the same composition with others; and our breeding hath been accor-

dingly. We cannot have lived in the world, but we have seen it, and observed it too; and our long experience and conversation, both in men and in books, cannot but have put something into us for the good of others: and now, having a double capacity, *quà Cives, quà Ecclesiastici*; as members of the commonwealth, as ministers and governors of the church; we are ready to do our best service in both. One of them is no way incompatible with the other: yea, the subjects of them both are so united with the church and commonwealth, that they cannot be severed: yea so, as that, not the one is in the other, but the one is the other, is both: so as the services, which we do, upon these occasions, to the commonwealth, are inseparable from our good offices to the church: so as, upon this ground, there is no reason of our exclusion.

If ye say that our sitting in parliament takes up much time, which we might have employed in our studies or pulpits; consider, I beseech you, that, while you have a parliament, we must have a convocation; and that our attendance upon that will call for the same expence of time, which we afford to this service: so as, herein, we have neither got nor lost.

But, I fear it is not, on some hands, the tender regard of the full scope to our calling, that is so much here stood upon; as the conceit of too

much honour, that is done us, in taking up the room of peers, and voting in this high court: for, surely, those that are averse from our votes, yet could be content we should have place upon the woolsacks; and could allow us ears, but not tongues.

If this be the matter, I beseech your lordships to consider, that this honour is not done to us, but our profession; which, whatever we be in our several persons, cannot easily be capable of too much respect from your lordships. *Non tibi, sed Isidi*; as he said of old.

Neither is this any new grace, that is put upon our calling; which if it were now to begin might perhaps be justly grudged to our unworthiness; but it is an ancient right and inheritance, inherent in our station: no less ancient than these walls, wherein we sit: yea, more: before ever there were parliaments, in the Magna Concilia of the kingdom we had our places. And as for my predecessors, ever since the conqueror's time, I can shew your Lordships a just catalogue of them, that have sat before me here: and, truly, though I have just cause to be mean in mine own eyes, yet why or wherein there should be more unworthiness in me than the rest, that I should be stripped of that privilege which they so long enjoyed, though there were no law to hold me here, I cannot see or confess.

What respects of honour have been put upon the prime clergy of old, both by Pagans, and Jews, and Christians, and what are still both within Christendom and without, I shall not need to urge: it is enough to say, this of ours is not merely arbitrary; but stands so firmly established by law and custom, that I hope it neither will nor can be removed, except you will shake those foundations, which I believe you desire to hold firm and inviolable.

Shortly, then, my lords, the church craves no new honour from you; and justly hopes you will not be guilty of pulling down the old. As you are the eldest sons, and, next under his majesty, the honourable patrons of the church: so she expects and beseeches you to receive her into your tenderest care; so to order her affairs, that ye leave her to posterity in no worse case than you found her.

It is a true word of Damasus, *Uti vilescit nomen Episcopi, omnis statua perturbatur Ecclesiæ*. If this be suffered, the misery will be the church's: the dishonour and blur of the act in future ages will be yours.

To shut up, therefore, let us be taken off from all ordinary trade of secular employments; and, if you please, abridge us of intermeddling with matters of common justice: but leave us possessed of those places and privileges in parliament,

which our predecessors have so long and peaceably enjoyed." *

The rejection of this bill was the first check the commons met with in this parliament: and they were not a little disconcerted at it. The resolute conduct of the bishops at this time in defending their rights and privileges, so inflamed the enemies of the church, that they came to a conclusion that there was no hope of obtaining their end as long as a *root* and *branch* of episcopacy remained. Some of their leading members therefore brought in a bill for "the utter extirpation of all bishops, deans, chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, chaunters, with all chancellors, officials, and officers belonging to them; and for the disposing of their lands, manors, &c. as the parliament should appoint."† This extraordinary bill was drawn up by Mr. St. John, and was delivered to the speaker by Sir Edward Dering from the gallery, with a short speech, in which he quoted two verses from Ovid, the application of which, it is said, was his greatest motive:

"Cuncta prius tentanda: sed immedicabile vulnus
Ense recidendum, ne pars sincera trahatur."

Sir Edward observed, that the *moderation* and

* Bishop Hall's Works, vol. x, pp. 70-72.

† Nelson's Collections, vol. ii, pp. 248-300.

candour of the house were great in applying so *gentle* a remedy by the late bill; as pruning and taking off a few unnecessary branches from the bishops was likely to make the tree prosper the better: but since this soft method proved ineffectual by reason of their (the bishops') *incorrigible* obstinacy, it was now necessary to put the "*axe to the root of the tree.*" "I never was for ruin," said he, "as long as there was any hopes of reforming; and I now profess that if these hopes revive and prosper, I will divide my sense upon this bill, and yield my shoulders to to underprop the primitive, lawful, and just episcopacy."

There was a great opposition to the reading of this bill, because it was not introduced in a parliamentary way, viz. without first asking leave; and because its tendency was to overthrow and disannul so many acts, and to change the constitution in church and state. But, as there were many very desirous of hearing it merely out of curiosity, and others from worse motives, it was read once, and then adjourned for nearly two months.

A little before the king went into Scotland in the beginning of Aug. 1641, it was carried by a majority of thirty-one voices to read it a second time, and deliver it to a committee of the whole house, of which Mr. Hyde, afterwards Lord

Clarendon, was chairman, who so dexterously managed the matter, that in about twenty days the bill was dropt, and was not resumed till the civil war commenced.*

When it was debated in the house of commons to abolish deans and chapters, and to apply their revenues to better purposes, the cathedral clergy exerted themselves to the utmost to ward off the impending danger: they drew up a petition to both houses of parliament; and for this end, one divine was deputed from each cathedral to solicit their friends on behalf of their respective foundations. They intended to retain council to plead for them, but being informed that the parliament would not allow them that benefit, but that they must appear and plead their own cause. Upon this, Dr. John Hacket, prebendary of St. Paul's and archdeacon of Bedford, was selected as their advocate, who, being admitted to the bar of the house, May 12, 1641, "Spoke with so much strength of reason and argument, with so much learning and courage, that it was not without its effect on the house, and seemed to put the business to a stand for the present. It was then thought by some, that had the question been then

* Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i, p. 11. Warner's *Eccles. Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii, p. 540. Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. ii, p. 426. Harris's *Life of Charles I.* pp. 379-381. Ed. 1814.

put, it would have been carried in favour of the cathedrals by a great majority.* Petitions were also presented by the two universities; "but," says Heylin, "neither of them could prevail so far as take off the edge of the axe, which had been thus laid at the root of the tree, though it did blunt it at the present. For they, who managed the design, finding that the cathedral churches were too strongly cemented to be demolished in an instant, considered that the farthest way about, did many times prove the nearest way to the journey's end."† A bill was therefore prepared, by which it was to be enacted that the bishops should have no votes in parliament, &c. of which we shall have occasion to speak more at large hereafter.

After a long debate upon the bill for abolishing deans and chapters, the commons passed the following resolutions or votes, which did not pass into a law, as the house of lords would not concur in an act so detrimental to the interest of the church:—"That all deans and chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, chanters, canons, and

* See Dr. Hacket's incomparable speech in his *Life* by Dr. Plume, prefixed to his *Sermons* in fol. and in Nalson's Collection, vol. ii, p. 240. See also Fuller's *Church Hist.* cent. 17, b. xi, pp. 176, 177. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i, p. 9. Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 475.

† Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 476.

their officers, shall be utterly abolished out of the church, and the lands taken from them, put in the hands of trustees, in order to support a fit number of ministers for the service of the church, and the reparation of the cathedrals."

As long as the bishops were in the house of lords, they stood like a strong bulwark or wall against every attempt of the commons to subvert the church; but when they were forced out of the house, the commons carried all before them, and accomplished all their iniquitous designs against the church.

In the month of March, 1640--1, the lords ordered that a committee of ten earls, ten bishops, and ten barons should be nominated to settle the affairs of the church: this was denominated the *Committee of Accommodation*. At their first meeting they appointed a sub-committee of bishops and divines of different persuasions, to consider such innovations in religion as were proper to be taken away. Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, was chairman to both, and was ordered to summon the committee, which he did by the following circular:—

"I am commanded by the lords of the committee for innovation in matters of religion, to let you know, that their said lordships have assigned and appointed you to attend them, as assistants in that committee; and to let you know in

general, that their lordships intend to examine all innovations in doctrine and discipline introduced into the church, without law, since the reformation; and (if their lordships shall find it behoveful for the good of the church and state) to examine after that, the degrees and perfection of the reformation itself, which I am directed to intimate to you, that you may prepare your thoughts, studies, and meditations accordingly, expecting their lordships' pleasure for the particular points as they shall arise."

Dated March 12, 1640-1.*

The names of those bishops and divines, who attended, were these—

Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln.	Dr. Holdsworth.
Dr. Usher, archbishop of Armagh.	Dr. Hackett.
Dr. Hall, bishop of Exeter.	Dr. Twisse.
Dr. Morton, bishop of Durham.	Dr. Burgess.
Dr. Samuel Ward.	Mr. White.
Dr. John Prideaux.	Mr. Marshall.
Dr. Sanderson.	Mr. Calamy.
Dr. Featley.	Mr. Hill.
Dr. Brownrigge.	

They consulted together in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster, and were entertained all the while at the dean's table. The result of

* The date in Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 472, is March 21, and Dr. Walker, in his *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i, p. 29, has March 15. See his authorities in the margin, *ib.*

their conference was drawn up for the debate of the committee, in a number of propositions and queries; but before they could bring their consultations to any issue, the meeting was dispersed about the middle of May by the bringing in of the bill for abolishing deans and chapters. This caused such a division in this committee, even in their persons and affections, that they never after met together.*

Fuller, speaking of the prelates and divines which formed the committee of accommodation, says, "that the moderation and mutual compliance of these divines might have saved the body of episcopacy, and prevented the civil war; but the *court* bishops expected no good from them, suspecting the doctrinal puritans (as they nicknamed those bishops and episcopal divines) joined with the disciplinary puritans, would betray the church between them. Some hot spirits would abate nothing of episcopal power or profit, but maintained, that the yielding any thing was granting the day to the opposite party." There may be much truth in the above remarks: yet, though the bishops and divines of this committee were persons of great moderation and

* Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 475. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i, p. 29. Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. ii, p. 432.

piety, and perhaps their scheme of accommodation would have done much good, there were not only "hot spirits" in favor of episcopacy, who would "abate nothing of episcopal power or profit," but others of the opposite party, who would be satisfied with nothing less than the extirpation of episcopacy, *root and branch*.—I think, that though many of the puritan divines would have wished to retain episcopacy, it is evident that there existed a party, since the beginning of this parliament, who conspired the subversion of the church.—Rapin represents the whole body of the puritans, which he calls *presbyterians*, as having formed a conspiracy against the church.* This is however not correct. The most respectable puritans were only for reducing episcopacy into its primitive state, and for removing innovations in the church. But it must be acknowledged, that many were then hostile to the constitution of the church, being supported by the Scots commissioners, who had conceived a strong antipathy against episcopacy, and had actually voted it *contrary to the word of God!* This was not the case with many of the best of the puritans, who only desired to get rid of the exorbitant power exercised by some of the bishops. As the

* Hist. of Eng. vol. ii, pp. 359, 447, fol. ed.

influence of the Scots increased, presbyterian discipline prevailed; and when the parliament were at their mercy, and forced to submit to what conditions they would impose upon them for their assistance, the *Kirk discipline* gained the ascendant, and at last it was advanced into a *divine right* in the assembly of divines!*

It is said that about this time a plot was discovered to bring up from the north the army to dissolve the parliament: this rumour caused much ferment among the people; whether there was any truth in it or not, it was made a handle to alienate the affection of the people from the king. Thus every kind of fuel was accumulated to kindle the fire of civil war and rebellion.

While the commons were thus making preparations for the subversion of the establishment, they were also active in proceeding against papists. It is said that they had a considerable share in the present calamities. They were numerous, and were become insolent and proud. The queen being a papist, protected and countenanced them. And the king, though he was undoubtedly attached firmly to the protestant religion, yet partly from the mildness and humanity of his temper, and chiefly from respect to the queen,

* Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 443.

was rather remiss in executing the laws against them; so his enemies made it a pretence that he himself countenanced and protected them: that there existed a secret design of introducing popery, and that several bishops and clergymen were in the plot. There was no truth in this. But it was evident that the face of things was very much changed since the commencement of this parliament, and that it was not in the king's power even to protect the catholics. All the officers of that persuasion were therefore removed from the army; the judges and magistrates were ordered to put the laws in execution against popish priests and Jesuits: and catholics throughout the kingdom were commanded to be disarmed. In order more effectually to increase the popular fear of popery, Mr. Pym gravely alleged the discovery of a conspiracy against the parliament, and moved "that a *protestation* might be entered into by the members of both houses." A protestation was therefore made to this effect, that they did in the presence of Almighty God, promise, vow, and protest to maintain and defend, with their lives, power and estates, the true reformed protestant religion expressed in the doctrine of the church of England, against all popery, and popish innovations within this realm, contrary to the same

doctrine; and also his Majesty's person, the power and privilege of parliament, the rights and liberties of the subjects, &c. &c. After being subscribed by all the commons, it was sent up to the house of lords, and was readily assented to by all the lords spiritual and temporal, except the Earl of Southampton and Lord Roberts, who positively refused it, since there was no law that enjoined it, and since the consequence of such engagements might produce effects which were not then intended. Within two days after, without acquainting the peers, and contrary to the intention of most who took the protestation, the house of commons voted an explanation of it, as it was now in their power to put what sense they pleased upon it; their explication of it, therefore, was, that it did not extend to the maintaining of any form of worship or government in the church of England. And lest it should not be subscribed voluntarily by the whole nation, as they desired, a bill was prepared and passed to *compel* all his Majesty's subjects to subscribe it. The lords however rejected such a bill. And the commons in anger, imputed it to the bishops and popish lords, immediately resolved, that whosoever should not take the protestation, was unfit to bear office in the church or commonwealth. At the same time they passed several severe

votes against the bishops and the church.*—
 "This was," says Neal, "carrying matters to a very extraordinary length; there had been a parliamentary association in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, which her Majesty confirmed; and a solemn league and covenant in Scotland, which the king had complied with; but the enforcing a *protestation* or *vow* upon his Majesty's subjects without his consent, was assuming a power, which even this dangerous crisis of affairs, and the uncommon authority with which this parliament was invested by the *Act of Continuance*, can by no means support or justify."†

The changes, which took place since the commencement of this parliament, and during its continuance, were truly astonishing and prodigious. It will be proper here to take a brief view of some civil occurrences, which paved the way for them. The parliament, designing to bring corrupt ministers to justice, began with Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, an able statesman, but hostile to the laws and liberties of his country, and impeached him of high treason, Nov. 11, 1640. Upon this he was taken into custody, committed to the tower, and brought to trial the 22d of

* Warner's *Eccles. Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii, p. 542. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i, p. 22.

† *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. ii, p. 419.

March following. Harris says, that the king and queen attended his trial *incog*.^{*} The king made some attempts to save his life, but through fear or irresolution, he was at last prevailed upon to sign the bill of attainder. And on the 12th of May, 1641, the unhappy Thomas Wentworth was beheaded upon Tower-hill, and submitted to the axe with a *Roman* bravery and courage:—the writer would have been glad to add rather that he died with *Christian* fortitude, and in a hope full of immortality; but he cannot find any such account in the historians of the day.

During the trial, as being a case of blood, the bishops did not attend; consequently the bill of attainder passed with the dissent of only eleven peers.

About this time, that most extraordinary bill, in which it was stated, "*that this present parliament shall not be adjourned, or dissolved, without their own consent,*" passed both houses with very little opposition, and obtained the royal assent!!

All men stood amazed at the king's weakness on this occasion: for by this hasty and unadvised measure he concurred in a change of the whole constitution, giving to parliament a legislative power as long as they pleased! If the king had

^{*} Life of Charles I, p. 370, ed. 1814.

fixed the continuance of this parliament to a limited time, it might probably have been satisfactory, and the prerogative be saved; but by making them perpetual, he parted with the sceptre out of his own hands, and put it into the hands of this parliament, which had already shewn such hostile disposition to the constitution in church and state.

Two other bills were now ready for the royal assent—one to abolish the court of high commission, and regulate the privy council; the other to take away the star-chamber. These bills passed and obtained the royal assent about the latter end of July, 1641. The high commission court was erected by Queen Elizabeth: its jurisdiction extended over the whole kingdom; it suspended and deprived men of their livings. Instead of producing witnesses in open court to prove a charge against a person, the commissioners assumed a power of administering an oath *ex officio*, by which a person was bound to answer all questions, and might thereby be obliged to accuse himself or his most intimate friend. If he refused this oath, he was imprisoned for contempt; and if he took it, he was convicted upon his own confession. Though this court was intended to reform ecclesiastical errors, and to check heresies and schisms, yet it was often abused to vex and harass persons upon trivial

occasions; so that it was become a kind of *inquisition*; as Granger says, "it was armed with an *inquisitorial power to force* any one to confess what he knew, and to punish him at *discretion*."*

The star chamber was also a court consisting of certain noblemen, bishops, judges and counsellors, nominated by the sovereign who was the sole judge when present; the other members were only to give their opinion by way of advice. But in the absence of the sovereign, the determination was by a majority, the lord chancellor or keeper having a casting vote. This court was grown so unmerciful in its censures and punishments, that it was a great oppression to the nation.†

* Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i, p. 206. See also Hume's Hist. of England, vol. v, p. 189.

† See Clarendon, vol. i, pp. 74, 68, &c. — In the ancient year books, it is called *Camera Stellata*, not because the chamber where the court was kept was adorned with stars, but because it was the seat of the great court, and the name was given according to the nature of its judges. "It was a glorious sight upon a star-day when the Knights of the Garter appear with the stars on their garments, and the judges in their scarlet; and in that posture they have sat sometimes from nine in the morning till five in the afternoon. And it was usual for those that came to be auditors, to be there by three in the morning to get convenient places and standing. The Warden of the Fleet, or his deputy, constantly attended in court to receive their Lordships' commands, as there was occasion." "This court often inflicted fines and punishments; but it was only in the days of Charles I. that *cropping of ears, slitting of noses, branding of faces, whipping, and gagging*, were heard of in it." Rushworth, vol. ii, p. 473.

† Harris's Life of Charles I, p. 308, ed. 1814.

By the passing of the act for abolishing these courts, the whole authority and power of spiritual courts were effectually destroyed. When the king hesitated to give his royal assent to this bill, some of the bishops persuaded him to sign it, in order to take off the odium from that bench, that they were averse to reformation.

When these two courts were abolished, which were the principal cause of the grievances complained of, and the chief engines of arbitrary proceedings in church and state, one might have supposed that surely now the church should have rest and quietness :—but no : it must be destroyed *root and branch*. *Reformation* could not be perfected till episcopacy was abolished, and “the goodly lands and revenues” of the church be enjoyed by the *reformers*.

The commons were not able to devise any effectual method to accomplish their intended change, while the bench of bishops remained united in the house of peers. Several schemes were contrived to divide them, but proved unsuccessful. It was first proposed to impose large fines upon both houses of convocation for compiling the late canons, and a bill for that purpose was introduced, but laid aside. For it was thought more effectual for the present to make examples of those bishops only who were the principal actors in these matters. Accord-

ingly a committee was appointed July 31, 1641, to draw up an impeachment against thirteen of the bishops, viz. Dr. Curle, bishop of Winchester; Dr. Wright, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield; Dr. Goodman, bishop of Gloucester; Dr. Jos. Hall, bishop of Exeter; Dr. Owen, bishop of St. Asaph; Dr. Pierse, bishop of Bath and Wells; Dr. Coke, bishop of Hereford; Dr. Wren, bishop of Ely; Dr. Roberts, bishop of Bangor; Dr. Skinner, bishop of Bristol; Dr. Warner, bishop of Rochester; Dr. Towers, bishop of Peterborough; Dr. Owen, bishop of Landaff.* The impeachment was of high crimes and misdemeanours;—" *For making and publishing the late canons, contrary to the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws of the realm, to the rights of parliament, and to the property and liberty of the subject; and containing matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence; and for granting a benevolence or contribution to his Majesty, to be paid by the clergy of that province, contrary to law.*" It was carried up to the house of Lords about the beginning of August, by serjeant Wild, who demanded in the name of all the commons of England, that the bishops might be forthwith

* Neal includes Dr. Laud archbishop of Canterbury in this list, and leaves out the bishop of Hereford; but Dr. Laud at this time was in the Tower.—See Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i, p. 7; part ii, p. 34.

put to answer the crimes and misdemeanours above mentioned, *in the presence of the house of commons*; and that such further proceedings might be had against them as to law and justice appertained. The commons were in hopes that the bishops would now have quitted their votes in parliament in order to be discharged of the *præmunire*: but they determined and resolved to abide by their right, and therefore only desired time to prepare their answer and council. They were allowed accordingly three months' time to put in their answer, and to prepare council: for this purpose they nominated Serjeant Jermyn, Mr. Chute, Mr. Herne, and Mr. Hales, as their council.

Nov. 12, 1641, the bishops delivered in their answers in writing, except the bishop of Gloucester, who pleaded *not guilty* by word of mouth. Their answers, consisting of a *plea* and *demurrer*, were drawn up for them by their council Mr. Chute, with such strength of argument and learning, that their impeachment sunk away in silence.* The bishops' defence was made by a *demurrer*, with a view to prove that what they had done in the late convocation, could not amount to a

* Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi, p. 183.—Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 449.—Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, part i, p. 7.

præmunire. Bishop Hall, on this occasion, made the following impressive speech in defence of the canons made in convocation :

“ My Lords :

“ I cannot choose but know, that whosoever rises up in this cause must speak with the disadvantage of much prejudice ; and, therefore, I do humbly crave your lordships’ best construction. Were it, my lords, that some few doubting persons were to be satisfied in some scruples about matter of the canons, there might be some life in the hope of prevailing ; but, now that we are borne down with such a torrent of general and resolute contradiction, we yield : but yet, give us leave, I beseech you, so to yield, that posterity may not say we have willingly betrayed our own innocence.

“ First, therefore, let us plead to your lordships and the world, that, to abate the edge of that illegality, which is objected to us, it was our obedience, that both assembled and kept us together, for the making of synodical acts. We had the great seal of England for it ; seconded by the judgments of the oracles of law and justice : and, upon these, the command of our superior, to whom we have sworn and owe canonical obedience. Now in this case, what should we do ? Was it for us to judge of the great seal of

England? or to judge of our judges? alas! we are not for the law, but for the gospel; or to disobey that authority, which was to be ever sacred to us? I beseech your lordships, put yourselves a while into our condition. Had the case been yours, what would you have done? If we obey not, we are rebels to authority: if we obey, we are censured for illegal procedures. Where are we now, my lords? It is an old rule of casuists, *Nemo tenetur esse perplexus*. Free us, one way or other: and shew us, whether we must rather hazard censure, or incur disobedience.

“In the next place, give us leave to plead our good intentions. Since we must make new canons, I persuade myself we all came, I am sure I can speak for one, with honest and zealous desires to do God and his church good service; and expected to have received great thanks, both of church and commonwealth: for your lordships see, that the main drift of those canons was to repress and confine the indiscreet and lawless discourses of some either ignorant or parasitical, I am sure offensive preachers; to suppress the growth of Socinianism, Popery, Separatism; to redress some abuses of ecclesiastical courts and officers: in all which, I dare say your lordships do heartily concur with them. And if, in the manner of expression, there have been any failings, I shall humbly beseech your lordships, that those

may not be too much stood upon, where the main substance is well meant, and in itself profitable.

“ In the third place, give me leave to put your lordships in mind of the continual practice of the Christian church, since the first synod of the Apostles, Acts xv. to this present day: wherein I suppose it can never be showed, that ever any ecclesiastical canons made by the bishops and clergy in synods, general, national, provincial, were either offered or required to be confirmed by parliaments. Emperors and princes, by whose authority those synods were called, have still given their power to the ratification and execution of them; and none others: and, if you please to look into the times within the ken of memory or somewhat beyond it, Linwood's constitutions, what parliaments confirmed? The injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, the canons of King James, were never tendered to the parliament for confirmation; and yet have so far obtained hitherto, that the government of the church was by them still regulated. Compare, I beseech you, those of King James with the present: your lordships shall find them many, peremptory, resolute; standing upon their own grounds, in points much harder of digestion than these, which are but few and only seconds to former constitution. If, therefore, in this we have erred, surely the whole christian church of all places and times hath erred with

us: either, therefore, we shall have too good company in the censure; or else we shall be excused.

“Fourthly, give me leave to urge the authority of these canons. In which regard, if I might without offence speak it, I might say that the complainants have not, under correction, laid a right ground of their accusation. They say we have made canons and constitutions: alas! my lords, we have made none. We neither did nor could make canons, more than they can make laws. The canons are so to the church, as laws are for the commonwealth. Now they do but *rogare legem*: they do not *ferre* or *sancire legem*: that is only for the king to do: it is *le roi le veut*, that of bills makes laws. So was it for us to do in matter of canons: we might propound some such constitutions, as we should think might be useful: but, when we have done, we send them to his Majesty; who perusing them *cum avisa-mento Consilii sui*, and approving them, puts life into them, and of dead propositions makes them canons. As, therefore, the laws are the king's laws, and not ours; so are the canons the king's canons, and not the clergy's. Think thus of them; and then draw what conclusions you please.

“As for that pecuniary business of our contribution, wherein we are said to have trenched upon

the liberty of subjects and propriety of goods; I beseech your lordships, do but see the difference of times. We had a precedent for it. The same thing was done in Queen Elizabeth's time, in a mulct of three shillings the pound, and that after the end of the parliament, with the same clauses of suspension, sequestration, deprivation, without noise of any exception; which now is cried down for an unheard-of encroachment. How legal it may be, I dispute not; and did then make bold to move: but, let the guide of that example, and the zeal that we had to the supply of his Majesty's necessities, excuse us *a tanto* at least; if, having given these as subsidies fitting the parliament, and the bill being drawn up for the confirmation of the parliament, we now, upon the unhappy dissolution of it, as loth to retract so necessary a grant, were willing to have it continued to his Majesty's use.

“ But, my lords, if I may have leave to speak my own thoughts, I shall freely say, that, whereas there are three general concernments, both of persons and causes, merely ecclesiastical, merely temporal, or mixt of both ecclesiastical and temporal: as it is fit, the church by her synod should take cognizance of and order for the first, which is merely ecclesiastical; so, next under his Majesty, the parliament should have the power of ordering the other.

“But, in the mean time, my lords, where are we? The canons of the church, both late and former, are pronounced to be void and forceless. The church is a garden or vineyard enclosed: the laws and constitutions of it are as the wall or hedge: if these be cast open, in what state are we? Shall the enemies of this church have such an advantage of us, as to say, we are a lawless church? or shall all men be left loose to their licentious freedom? God in heaven forbid!

“Hitherto, we have been quietly and happily governed by those former canons: the extent whereof we have not, I hope, and for some of us, I am confident we have not, exceeded. Why should we not be so still? Let these late canons sleep, since you will have it so, till we awake them, which shall not be till doomsday; and let us be where we were, and regulate ourselves by those constitutions which were quietly submitted to on all hands: and, for this, which is past, since that which we did was out of our true obedience, and with honest and godly intentions and according to the universal practice of all Christian Churches, and with the full power of his Majesty’s authority, let it not be imputed to us as any way worthy of your Lordships’ censure.”*

* Bishop Hall’s Works, vol. x, pp. 67–69.

CHAPTER VII.

THE time was now come, within two or three days, for the king's intended journey into Scotland: the commons therefore thought proper to lay aside their debates about the church, which were becoming daily more involved and intricate, and to attend to other affairs more necessary for the public good. The business of both houses being very urgent and the time short, they voted, that, in this case of necessity, they would sit the next day, being Sunday, by six o'clock in the morning. After having first heard a sermon, they returned to the house about nine, and sat all day. (Sunday, Aug. 8, 1641.) The house of lords were also prevailed upon to do the same. There never was any other such instance known before, since the first institution of parliament. However, lest this might be misconstrued as a profanation, or be drawn into example, they published the following declaration:

“Whereas both houses of parliament found it fit to sit in parliament upon the 8th of August,

being Lord's day, for many urgent occasions, being straitened in time, by his Majesty's resolution to go within a day or two to Scotland, they think it fit to declare that they would not have done this but upon inevitable necessity; the peace and safety of both church and state being so deeply concerned, which they do hereby declare to this end, that neither any other inferior court or council, or any other person, may draw this into example, or make use of it for their encouragement, in neglecting the due observance of the Lord's day."

The king set out for Scotland, Aug. 11, 1641, and arrived in Edinburgh in three or four days. During the king's absence, both houses of parliament continued their sittings. But, as the summer was drawing to a close, and the plague increasing in London, many members of both houses went down to the country. And those who remained in town, were not very solicitous to attend parliament. This was an opportunity, which the enemies of the church did not fail to improve. When therefore there were only about one hundred and twenty members present, they entered on a debate about the book of Common Prayer. They pretended that, as many things in it gave great offence, or at least, umbrage to tender consciences, they proposed that there might be a liberty to disuse it. But such a motion, at this

time, was of so unacceptable a nature, that though the house was so thinly attended, and it was much urged by persons of the greatest authority and power, yet it was so far from being assented to, that it was resolved by a great majority, that the book of Common Prayer should be duly observed. However, the next day, contrary to all rules and order of parliament, many being absent, who had a share in the debate the day before, the house suspended the above order, and resolved, "that the standing of the communion table in all churches should be altered, the rails should be pulled down, the chancels should be levelled, and that no man should presume to bow at the name of Jesus."* Having digested these *godly* resolutions into an order, they carried it to the house of lords, presuming that, on account of the paucity of number in the house of peers, there would be no dissent. But the lords were much offended at such presumption relating to an affair, which had so plain a tendency to disturb the peace of the church, and interrupt its settled and legal government; and they not only refused to concur with them, but directed an order made about seven months before to be printed and dispersed; requiring "divine service to be performed as it is appointed by acts of parliament,

* Clarendon, vol. i, b. iv, p. 292.

and all such as shall disturb that wholesome order to be punished severely according to law." The commons, enraged at this refusal, pursued their former order, and declared that this of the lords should not be obeyed. In the midst of this ferment and opposite counsels, the sword having been taken out of the hands of the spiritual courts, it is no wonder that the state of religion was so unsettled, and that the proper forms of worship in the church were but negligently observed. Under pretence of encouraging preaching, the commons licensed lecturers in every parish; and recommended such lecturers in all populous places, as were not well affected to the government in church and state. Dr. Walker, in his "Sufferings of the Clergy," gives a curious account of these factious lecturers, with some no less curious and strange specimens of their lectures. These lecturers were designed as a kind of *tools* in the hands of the commons, to undermine the fabric of the church.* Neal, speaking of these lecturers, says, "far be it from me to apologize for the *furious* preachers of these times: though the complaints of the royalists are very much exaggerated."†

Both houses now consented to a recess, and so

* Part i, pp. 16-20.

† Hist. of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 463.

adjourned for about six weeks. Bishop Hall, during his Majesty's absence in Scotland, and this recess, went down to Exeter; and upon the day of thanksgiving for the pacification between the Scots and the English, Sep. 7, 1641, preached in the cathedral of Exeter, from Ps. xlvii, 8, 9. "*Come, behold the works of the Lord, what desolations he hath made in the earth. He maketh wars to cease unto the ends of the earth.*" The good bishop, in this excellent discourse, after taking a general survey of God's wonderful works, and then a special view of the divine justice, took occasion to consider the mercy of God in appeasing all broils and tumults, and pathetically adverted to the troubles of the church and state: "Are we troubled with the fears or rumours of war? Are we grieved with the quarrels and dissensions, that we find within the bosom of our own nation or church? Would we earnestly desire to find all differences composed, and a constant peace settled amongst us? We see WHITHER TO MAKE OUR ADDRESS, even to that Omnipotent God, "*who maketh wars to cease unto the ends of the earth; who breaketh the bow, and snappeth the spear in sunder.*" And, surely, if ever any nation had cause to complain in the midst of a public peace, of the danger of private distractions and factious divisions, ours is it; wherein I know not how many uncouth sects are lately risen out of hell,

to the disturbance of our wonted peace; all of them eagerly pursuing their own various fancies, and opposing our formerly received truth. What should we do then, but betake ourselves in our earnest supplications to the God of peace, with a *'help, Lord?'* Never ceasing to solicit him with our prayers, that he would be pleased so to order the hearts of men, that they might incline to a happy agreement; at least to a meek cessation of those unkind quarrels, wherewith the church is thus miserably afflicted."

Hence it appears how grieved Bishop Hall was at the present sad state of the church, and how much he lamented the deplorable discords, which were threatening destruction to the constitution in church and state. He again feelingly observed, "Woe is me, with what words should I bewail the deplorable estate of these late times in this behalf! Let me appeal to your own eyes and ears. I know I speak to judicious christians. Tell me whether ever you lived to see such an inundation of libellous, scandalous, malicious pamphlets, as have lately broke in upon us; not only against some particular persons which may have been faulty enough; but against the lawful and established government itself; against the ancient, allowed, legal forms of divine worship. Certainly, if we love the peace of this church and kingdom, we cannot but lament, and, to our power,

oppose these insolencies. If reformation be the thing desired and aimed at, let not that man prosper, which doth not affect it, pray for it, bend his utmost endeavours to accomplish it: but is this the way to a christian reformation, to raise slanders, to broach lying accusations against the innocent, to calumniate lawful and established authority? God forbid! These are the acts of him, that is the manslayer from the beginning. The Holy God hates to raise his kingdom by the aid of the devil. Be as zealous as you will: but be, withal, just: be charitable; and endeavour to advance good causes, by only lawful means. And then, let him come within the compass of the curse of Meroz, that is not ready to assist and second you.*"

These extracts from the bishop's sermon cast a considerable light upon the iniquitous proceedings then carried on for the subversion of the church. The means employed at this time to render people disaffected towards the rulers in church and state were certainly very scandalous, and so very reverse to that meek and peaceable disposition, the characteristic of genuine christianity: "*Pray for the peace of Jerusalem,*" says the Psalmist, "*they shall prosper that love thee.*" "Certainly, thus it should be," says Bishop Hall,

* Bishop Hall's Works, vol. v. pp. 479-481.

“but, alas, we are fallen upon times, wherein it is cause enough for a quarrel, to plead for peace!”

Whilst the king was in Scotland, a report was circulated, that, as he had conceded so much to the Scots in abolishing episcopacy, he would be persuaded to introduce presbytery into England at his return; upon which, the king sent a letter to the clerk of the council, “commanding him to assure all his servants, that he would be constant to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, and that he resolved by the grace of God to die in the maintenance of it.” This was dated Edinburgh, Oct. 18, 1641.

His Majesty, during his stay in Scotland, resolved to fill up those sees which were become vacant by death or translation; he therefore ordered several *Conge d’elires* to be drawn up for that purpose.

But when the commons heard of this designation, they were much disturbed and troubled, that, at a time when they were intent upon taking away the old bishops, the king should presume to make new ones. They therefore voted a committee to draw up reasons to be presented to the house of lords, for joining with them in a petition to his Majesty, that he would suspend his commands till he returned home. The king, however, in a short time after, collated to the vacant sees, and

translated to others, men of great eminence in the church, frequent preachers, and not one to whom the faults of the governing clergy were then imputed, or against whom the least objection could be made. The promotions and translations, which accordingly then took place, were the following, viz. Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, was made archbishop of York in the room of Dr. Neile deceased. Dr. Winniffe, dean of St. Paul's, a grave and moderate divine, was made bishop of Lincoln. Dr. Duppa, bishop of Chichester was translated to Salisbury, vacant by the death of Dr. Davenant: and Dr. King, dean of Rochester was promoted to Chichester. Dr. Jos. Hall was now translated from Exeter to Norwich, in the room of Dr. Montague deceased. Dr. Brownrigge, master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, an eminent and learned divine, was advanced to Exeter. Dr. Skinner was translated from Bristol to Oxford, vacant by the death of Dr. Bancroft. And Dr. Westfield, archdeacon of St. Albans, a very popular preacher, was promoted to Bristol. Dr. Prideaux, king's professor of divinity in Oxford, was made bishop of Worcester, in the room of Dr. Thornborough deceased. The see of Carlisle being also vacant by the death of Dr. Barnabas Potter, who was called *the penitential preacher*, was given *in commendam* to the most reverend Dr. Usher, archbishop of

Armagh and primate of Ireland. All these were very eminent and excellent divines, and were ornaments of their profession. It was a proof of the king's consulting the welfare of the church in this very critical time, to promote such characters. Neal invidiously remarks that "most of these divines stood well in the opinion of the people, but their accepting bishoprics in this crisis did neither the king nor themselves any service."* But was not their accepting of bishoprics at such a time a proof of their determination to stand up in defence of the church to the last extremity? Was it not a proof of their sincerity, of their undiminished attachment and affection to the Church? And was there not here a demonstration of his Majesty's disposition of promoting the prosperity of the church and the welfare of his subjects to the utmost?

Before the king left Scotland, news arrived in London, Nov. 1, 1641, that the papists of Ireland had made a general insurrection, and committed a most cruel and bloody massacre of the protestants of that kingdom. Neal and other historians insinuate that the king was not unacquainted with these barbarities: but there is no sufficient proof that his Majesty was at all a promoter of

* Hist. of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 480.

such enormities. However, through the dissensions between the king and parliament, effectual means of suppressing it were delayed too long: so that, because a timely relief was not afforded to Ireland, it proved ultimately very disadvantageous to the king.

The two houses of parliament were no sooner assembled after the recess, than a motion was made in the house of commons to revive the committee appointed at the beginning of this parliament, in order to draw up a general remonstrance of the state of the nation, and the particular grievances it had sustained. This extraordinary bill was presented to the king at Hampton Court, Dec. 1, 1641, about a week after his return from Scotland.

Some such remonstrance was probably seasonable and proper, when the parliament first met after a scene of arbitrary power and oppression for so many years: but at this time it was unnecessary and unseasonable, when the grievances complained of had been redressed, and since the king had already made so many concessions. The remonstrance was read in the house of commons, Nov. 22, when it met with so strong an opposition, that it was carried only by nine voices, Clarendon says: but Harris, in his life of Cromwell, p. 73, says, that "the numbers for passing the remonstrance were one hundred and fifty nine,

against it one hundred and forty eight, so it was carried by eleven voices,"* after a long debate of twelve hours, from three in the afternoon till three in the morning, which made one of the members to say, "It looked like the verdict of a starved jury."† This remonstrance contained a long and bitter representation of all the illegal acts of administration from his Majesty's accession to that time. It was accompanied with a petition for redress of the grievances therein contained. As far as it concerned the church, it was stated in the petition, "that his Majesty would concur with his people in a parliamentary way, for depriving the bishops of their votes in parliament, and abridging their immoderate power usurped over the clergy, and other his good subjects, to the hazard of religion, and the prejudice of the just liberties of his people:—for the taking away such oppressions in religion, church government and discipline, as

* Journal, 22 Nov. 1641.

† Harris, in his *Life of Cromwell*, p. 70, supposes the person who made this remark was Sir Benj. Rudyard, who, according to Willis, was in three parliaments, the representative for Portsmouth, afterwards returned for old Sarum, for Downton, and for Wilton. See Whitlock's *Memorials*, p. 51; and Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii, p. 481. Welwood, in his "Memoirs," p. 62, says, that "the debate lasted from three o'clock in the afternoon till ten o'clock next morning!!" A bill for depriving the bishops of their seats and votes in parliament had before been cast out and rejected by the peers: it was certainly not only unreasonable, but very unparliamentary, to presume to introduce such a bill again in the same session.

have been brought in and fermented by them ; and for uniting all such loyal subjects as agree in fundamentals against papists, by removing some oppressions and unnecessary ceremonies, by which divers weak consciences have been offended, and seemed divided from the rest." And lastly, his Majesty was requested " to remove from his councils all favourers of popery and arbitrary power, and promoters of the above-mentioned pressures and corruptions, and to employ such as his parliament might confide in ; and that in his princely goodness he would reject all solicitations to the contrary, *how powerful and near soever.*"*

The king, in his answer to this petition about a week after, remonstrated with great justice against the disrespect of the commons in printing their remonstrance before he had time to return an answer. His Majesty declared, " that he was very willing to concur with all the just desires of his people in a parliamentary way, for preserving the peace of the kingdom from the designs of the popish party. He thought the right of the bishops to vote in parliament was grounded on the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and constitutions of parliament ; and there needed no other answer to that at present, since they desired his concur-

* Nalson's Collections, vol. ii, p. 692. Welwood's Memoirs, p. 243.

rence in a parliamentary way. As for abridging the extraordinary power of the clergy, his Majesty said, that he thought the abolishing the High Commission, with that clause relating to all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, had already moderated that power; but if there continued any usurpations, or excesses, in their jurisdiction, he neither had, nor would protect them. Concerning church corruptions, as they were styled, and removing unnecessary ceremonies, the king told them, that he was willing to concur in the removal of any illegal innovations, which have crept in; and if the parliament advised to a national synod, he would consider of it, and apply himself to give satisfaction in it. But he was sorry to hear in such general terms of corruption in religion, since he was persuaded in his own conscience, that no church can be found upon earth, that professes the true religion with more purity of doctrine, than the church of England does; nor where the government and discipline are jointly more beautiful, and free from superstition, than they are here established by law; which by the grace of God he would with constancy maintain in their purity and glory, not only against all invasions of popery, but also from the irreverence of those many schismatics and separatists, wherewith of late this kingdom and this city abound, to the great dishonour and hazard of church and

state; for the suppression of whom he required their timely aid, and active assistance."*

This answer, of course, could not be satisfactory to the commons, and their leaders, who were intent upon abolishing the hierarchy *in toto*: but the king treated them with much greater respect than they deserved.

The matters contained in the petition and remonstrance of the state of the nation presented to the king by the commons, and in the king's answer, and the declaration he afterwards published to the same purpose, were some of the real causes of the ensuing civil war, and of the calamities sustained by the nation.

December 15, 1641, the king published a declaration † to all his loving subjects, with the advice of his privy council, in which he professed himself fully satisfied "that the religion of the church of England is most agreeable to the word of God, and that he should be ready to seal it with his blood, if God should call him to it. That as for ceremonies in religion, which are in their own nature indifferent, he is willing in tenderness to any number of his subjects, that a law should

* See Welwood's Memoirs, p. 286.

† This declaration was drawn up by Mr. Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon; it was so ably done, that it considerably counteracted the mischief of the remonstrance. See Lord Clarendon's Life, vol. i, pp. 86-87.

be made for the exemption of tender consciences, from punishment or prosecution for such ceremonies, as by the judgment of most men are held to be indifferent, and of some to be absolutely unlawful, provided the peace of the kingdom be not disturbed, nor the present decency and comeliness of God's service established in the church discountenanced: nor the pious, sober, and devout actions of those reverend persons, who were the first labourers in the blessed reformation, be scandalized and defamed. That he cannot, without grief of heart, and some tax upon himself and his ministers for not executing the laws, look upon the bold licence of some men, in printing pamphlets and sermons so full of bitterness and malice against the present government, and the law established, so full of sedition against himself and the peace of the kingdom, that he is many times amazed to consider by what eyes these things are seen, and by what ears they are heard; he therefore commands again all his officers and ministers of justice to proceed against them with all speed, and put the laws in execution.^{71*}

It was expected that the issue of the impeachment of the thirteen bishops for compiling and sub-

* Welwood's *Memoirs*, pp. 291-302. Rushworth, part iii, vol. i, p. 456. Neal, vol. ii, p. 487.

scribing the late canons, which were published at the conclusion of the former parliament, would have tended greatly to weaken the court interest in the house of peers. But the impeached bishops having put in their answer by way of *demurrer*, as we have above related, dissatisfied and greatly disappointed the commons, who expected their lordships would have pleaded directly to the accusation. The peers were moved by Serjeant Glyn to set aside the *demurrer*, and to admit the commons to prove the charge, or else proceed immediately to judgment. But the peers, instead of complying with this request of the commons, agreed that the bishops should abide by their *demurrer*, as they desired, and appointed the Monday following, Dec. 11, to hear them by their council in the presence of the commons. The commons resented this way of proceeding, and so would not appear. Many of the most active members now declared among their friends, with a sort of despair, that they would be concerned no further against the bishops, for they saw it was in vain. The truth is, as Bishop Hall observes in his "Hard Measure," "there was a general plot and resolution of the faction to alter the government of the church especially;" which object was not to be accomplished as long as the bishops were in the way. And it is not improbable, the malignity of the factious party being

considered, that there was also a design formed against the king, which could not be executed, as long as the bishops, by the number of their votes, were able to oppose and prevent it. In this case they saw that they must either give up their project, or undertake some more effectual means to obtain by force, what they were not able to accomplish in any other way. They imagined that they could by one bold and vigorous assault, possess themselves of the entire sovereignty, therefore, says Bishop Hall, "it was contrived to draw petitions accusatory from many parts of the kingdom, against episcopal government: and the promoters of the petitions were entertained with great respects." Petitions were encouraged from all sorts and orders of people; "even the city dames," says Dr. Walker, "sent an address against the votes of the bishops and the popish lords."* The apprentices of London sent a petition directed "to the King's most excellent Majesty;" desiring that prelacy might be rooted out, that so the work of reformation might be prosperously carried on." Dugdale says, in his "Short View of the Troubles in England,"† that there was a paper delivered to the minister at Christ Church, the Sunday following, desiring that

* *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part, i, p. 50.

† P. 80.

prayers might be made to God to assist the apprentices with strength to root out superstition, and to extirpate the innovations of the bishops and clergy." "Such stuff," slanderous pamphlets, libels, canting and factious discourses were printed and dispersed in abundance with great industry among the people. The next step taken was the procuring of a mob to beset the two houses of parliament. When these petitions were carried up to Westminster by the aldermen and common council of London, who went in a procession of sixty coaches, attended by a vast concourse of the rabble and baser sort; great tumults and disturbance were occasioned about the parliament house, particularly when the apprentices brought up their petition against the bishops. Sir Richard Wiseman, who was at their head, was killed by a tile or stone from the battlements of Westminster Abbey. The house of lords exerted themselves to disperse the mob, by sending the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to command the people to disperse, and go to their respective homes. His Majesty also published a proclamation, Dec. 28, 1641, forbidding all tumultuous assemblies of the people. But the commons were very backward in making an exertion to suppress disturbances; the rabble therefore "were animated to the height of insolence, and would make a stand before Whitehall;

and when the bishops were passing to Westminster, would cry, "*No bishops!*" "*No popish lords!*" It was pretended that this concourse of people only waited for an answer to their petition; but it rather appears that it was designed to terrify the bishops and their friends from attending parliament. Certainly no reason can be assigned that these tumults were accidental, as Neal, and others, tell us. The whole process evidences that it was a contrivance of the party inimical to the church and state. Even Mr. Pym said publicly, when it was proposed to suppress those tumults, "God forbid the house of commons should in any way proceed to dishearten people to obtain their just desires in this way!"* Such was the zeal of the *patriot*, and his friends, for the privileges of parliament, when the privileges of parliament should have been used in favour of the church and constitution.

The tumults still continued about the parliament house; and the commons encouraged them, by voting the guard set by the magistrates to prevent and suppress disorder, to be a breach of privilege, though there was a legal writ under the great seal for appointing such guard. The

* Clarendon, vol. ii, p. 336. Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles in England, p. 80. Warner's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii, p. 549.

rage and fury of the rabble against the bishops grew so great, that they threatened to pull down their lodgings. The bishops could not now go into or out of the parliament house without abuse and insults, and without manifest danger of their lives. Dr. Williams, archbishop of York, going to the house of peers in company with the Earl of Dover, and hearing one of the rabble crying out louder than the rest, "*no bishops!*" "*no popish lords!*" stepped from the earl, and laid hands on him; but his companions rescued him, assaulted the archbishop, and tore his robes from his back, and, it was believed, if he had not been timely rescued he would have been murdered.* The bishops were now advised to forbear their attendance in the house; but they were determined to maintain their rights, till they were forced to relinquish them. The streets being crowded with the rabble, the bishops agreed to go by water to the house; but, as soon as their barges came near the shore, the mob saluted them with stones and other missiles, so that they were forced to return to their lodgings, and to forbear their attendance "out of a real apprehension of endangering their lives." Upon this, the archbishop of York calling together as many of the bishops as

* Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ii, p. 330.

were in town (it being now within few days to Christmas) to the number of twelve, consulted with them what measures were best to be taken in this critical juncture. He advised not to attempt to go to the house any more, and hastily drew up a *protestation* against whatsoever should be done in both houses in their absence, addressed to the king and the house of lords; this all the other bishops approved and signed. Heylin says, "as this protestation was the last flash of their dying light, it is proper to keep it from expiring as long as possible;" therefore the reader is here presented with a copy of it.

"To the king's most excellent majesty, and the lords and peers now assembled in parliament. "The humble PETITION and PROTESTATION of all the bishops and prelates now called by his Majesty's writs to attend the parliament, and present about London and Westminster for that service.—

"WHEREAS the petitioners are called up by several and respective writs, and under great penalties to attend the parliament, and have a clear and undubitable right to vote in bills, and other matters whatsoever debateable in parliament, by the ancient customs, laws, and statutes of this realm, and ought to be protected by your Majesty quietly to attend and prosecute that great service:

they humbly remonstrate and protest before God, your Majesty, and the noble lords and peers now assembled in parliament, that as they have an indubitative right to sit and vote in the house of lords, so are they, if they may be protected from force and violence, most ready and willing to perform their duties accordingly: and that they do abominate all actions or opinions tending to popery and the maintenance thereof; as also, all propension and inclination to any malignant party, or any other side or party whatsoever, to the which their own reasons and conscience shall not move them to adhere. But whereas they have been at several times violently menaced, affronted, and assaulted, by multitudes of people in their coming to perform their services in that honourable house, and lately chased away and put in danger of their lives, and can find no redress or protection upon sundry complaints made to both houses in these particulars: they humbly protest before your Majesty, and the noble house of peers, that saving unto themselves all their rights and interest of sitting and voting in that house at other times, they dare not sit or vote in the house of peers until your Majesty shall further secure them from all affronts, indignities, and dangers, in the premises. Lastly, whereas their fears are not built upon fantasies and conceits, but upon such

grounds and objections as may well terrify men of good resolution and much constancy, they do, in all duty and humility, protest before your majesty, and the peers of that most honourable house of parliament, against all laws, orders, votes, resolutions, and determinations as in themselves null, and of none effect, which in their absence, since the 27th of this instant month of December, 1641, have already passed ; as likewise against all such as shall hereafter pass in that most honourable house, during the time of this their forced and violent absence from the said most honourable house ; not denying, but if their absenting themselves were wilful and voluntary, that most honourable house might proceed in all these premises, their absence on this their protestation notwithstanding. And humbly beseeching your most excellent Majesty to command the clerk of the house of peers, to enter this their petition and protestation among their records,

“ And they will ever pray God to bless, &c.

John Eborac.	Geo. Hereford.
Thos. Dunelm.	Rob. Oxon.
Ro. Cov. Lichf.	Mat. Ely.
Jos. Norwich	Godfrey Gloucester.
Jo. Asaph.	Jo. Peterborough.
Gul. Bath and Wells.	Mor. Landaff.

This protestation was presented by Archbishop

Williams to the king, who hastily perused it,* and sent it to the lord keeper Littleton, "with a command to present it to the house of peers," as Lord Clarendon says: but Hacket, the biographer of archbishop Williams, says, "that his grace put it into the hands of the lord keeper to be read when his Majesty was at the house." However, the bishops, who signed this protestation, confided in the archbishop's experience in the rules of the house, where he sat as speaker for many years. But it was not difficult to discern that in such a juncture, some advantage and ill use would have been made of it, and that it could not produce any good effect. Upon the reading of the protestation in the house of lords the next morning, and after some debate, the peers requested a conference with the commons, when the lord keeper in the name of the peers declared that "the protestation of the bishops contained matters of high and dangerous consequence,

* The bishops, after having subscribed the protestation, intended to have further consultation concerning the legal mode of delivering it. But it appears from Bishop Hall's "Hard Measure," that the archbishop was too hasty and precipitate; and that the lord keeper also did take undue advantage of this irregularity, to aggravate "the matter, as highly offensive and of dangerous consequence," with a view of ingratiating himself with the house of commons and the faction. See Bishop Hall's "Hard Measure" for further particulars.

extending to the intrenching upon the fundamental privileges and being of parliaments, and therefore the lords thought fit to communicate it to the commons."

The house of commons took very little time to consider the matter; but, within half an hour, resolved to accuse the twelve bishops of *high treason*, and sent up their impeachment to the house of lords by Mr. Glyn.

Upon this the usher of the black rod was ordered to go immediately in search of them, and bring them to the bar of the house of lords. "We poor souls," says Bishop Hall in his "*Hard Measure*," "who little thought that we had done any thing that might deserve a chiding, are now called to our knees at the bar, and charged severally with *high treason*; being not a little astonished at the suddenness of this crimination, compared with the perfect innocence of our own intentions, which were only to bring us to our due places in parliament with safety and speed, without the least purpose of any man's offence."

As the bishops' lodgings were scattered, it was eight o'clock at night, Dec. 30, "in all the extremity of frost," when all the bishops appeared, except the bishop of Landaff, who was ordered to be brought up the next day. They were sequestered from parliament and committed to the Tower. But the bishops of Durham and Lich-

field found the favour to stand committed to the custody of the gentleman usher of the black rod, the former, on account of his eminent learning, and both, in regard of their great age and infirmities. The same favour was solicited for Bishop Hall by a noble lord, but was not granted. Respecting this circumstance, Bishop Hall tells us, "wherein I acknowledge and bless the gracious providence of God, for had I been gratified, I had been undone both in body and purse; the rooms being strait, and the expence beyond the reach of my estate." Fuller therefore and Neal must be mistaken in telling us that Bishop Hall was one of the two bishops, who obtained this favour, and had an allowance of five pounds a day for their expences.*

Though there might be some indiscretion in too precipitately drawing up the above protestation at such a time, some expressions probably might be rather unwarrantable, and unfortunately the manner of presenting it might be irregular; yet there could not be the least treason whatever in it. Therefore, the injustice, cruelty, and impiety of committing twelve venerable bishops to the Tower

* Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi, p. 188.—Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 497.—See also Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, part, i, p. 54.

for the charge of *high treason*, whereby their honour, lives, and fortunes were liable to be forfeited, their names exposed to infamy, and their families to want, rendered the factious party more odious, their base designs more manifest, and the respect shewn to parliament much less. Indeed, after the factious party had once resolved to subvert the established government, it could not be expected that their proceedings would be either regular or just. In their attacks upon the church, they scrupled not to transgress all bounds of justice, charity, and moderation, in the most open, base, and shameless manner.*

Immediately after the bishops were committed to the Tower, the commons sent up to the peers to desire they would take into consideration the bill, which had been before them for some months, for taking away the bishops' votes. The faction now had a fair opportunity to accomplish their iniquitous designs, which they improved to the utmost. As it is well known that a bill once rejected, cannot be regularly presented in the same session of parliament, therefore the bill for taking away the bishops' votes, "which had been twice before rejected since the beginning of this

* Warner's Eccles. Hist. of England, vol. ii, p. 560.

session,"* was now entitled "A Bill for taking away all Temporal Jurisdiction from those in Holy Orders." The house of lords being now no longer the same since the exclusion of the bishops, and this extraordinary bill being resumed at such a juncture, after a few debates, it passed in the house of lords by a great majority. Dr. Warner, bishop of Rochester, was the only bishop present left to defend the cause when the bill passed. This prelate strongly and valiantly defended the antiquity and justice of bishops' votes in parliament. The Earl of Bedford also took a part in making a vigorous defence against the bill: it was urged that it was contrary to the usage of parliament, when a bill had been once rejected, to bring it in a second time in the same session; to which it was replied, that it had *now another title, and therefore not the same bill, though it was to accomplish the same end!*

In order to avoid the odium of innovating in so extraordinary a manner upon the constitution, the Earl of Essex and Baron Kimbolton had before endeavoured to prevail with the bishops voluntarily to relinquish their right of voting in parliament in order to gratify the importunity of the commons, assuring them that the temporal lords

* See Bishop Hall's "Hard Measure."

would be bound in honour to support them in all the essentials of their character, if they would give up their right in this particular. But the bishops would not divest themselves of their peerage in order to gratify the malignancy of the factious party, who were so intent upon the destruction of the constitution in church and state.*

We have before mentioned that there have been great exertions made in favour of the church. Petitions had been sent from different parts of the kingdom, signed with nearly one hundred thousand hands in favour of the bishops, desiring some speedy course might be taken to suppress such schismatics and separatists, whose factious spirits endangered the peace of church and state. Nov. 18, 1641, a petition from Rutlandshire was presented to the house, signed by about eight hundred and forty hands, praying for the continuance of episcopacy, as the only government of apostolical institution, sealed with the blood of martyrs, admirably suited to the civil government of this kingdom, and affirming that no presbyter ever laid on hands without a bishop. Dec. 8th, a similar petition from Huntingdonsire was presented,

* See Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix, p. 185.

and two days after another from Somersetshire, signed with above fourteen thousand signatures. There were also petitions from Cheshire, Nottinghamshire, Devon, Stafford, Kent, North Wales, the counties of Lancaster, Cornwall, and Hereford. The Devon petition had eight thousand signatures; that from Stafford, three thousand; and those from North Wales, thirty thousand.*

Notwithstanding all efforts to preserve the church, the bill against the bishops passed, and the city of London celebrated the event with *bells* and *bonfires*. His Majesty, when strongly importuned and strongly urged to give his royal assent to it, replied, that it was a matter of so great concern, that therefore he would take time to consider and advise, and would let them know his mind in a convenient time. But this delay was extremely unpleasant to those who could not well attack the sovereignty, till the bishops' votes were abolished. They therefore sent again the same day to the king, who was at Windsor, to urge his compliance for these reasons—"because of the grievances the subjects suffered by the bishops' exercise of temporal jurisdiction, and their making a party in

* Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 490.—Warner's Eccles. Hist. of England, vol. ii, p. 551.—Nelson's Collections, vol. ii, pp. 726, 727.—Dr. Grey's Exam. of Neal, vol. i, pp. 312, 314.

the house of lords—because of the great content it would give by the happy conjunction of both houses in their absence—and because the passing this bill would be a comfortable pledge of his Majesty's gracious assent to the future remedies of those evils which were to be presented to him." *

Thus was his Majesty persuaded to pass this bill, after which he was not in a situation to deny them any thing.

There were some of the greatest trust about his Majesty, who, being "faithful enough to his service," though weak enough in their judgments, and ignorant of the constitution, persuaded him to pass this bill, as the only way to preserve the church. The king thought upon this subject in a far more able manner than his counsellors: and, though it was a fault which ran through his government, because he yielded upon many occasions his own understanding, which in general was superior to that of his ministers; yet, upon this point, he was long inflexible: and had his Majesty persevered, probably he would have prevented much of that confusion, which his compliance with this bill let in, like an inundation

* Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. i, p. 427.

upon church and state, and which ended in the ruin of both. But unfortunately he could refuse nothing to the solicitations of the queen, who being persuaded that her own preservation depended on his Majesty's passing the bill, exerted all her influence for his assent: so that the queen prevailed on his Majesty, that he sent a commission for enacting this and another bill then ready for the royal assent. The many sad effects, which the passing this bill, brought upon the church and state, are too well known, and are fully narrated by our historians. The passing of this bill was "one of the three things which laid heaviest on his Majesty in the time of his solitude and sufferings, as appears by the following passage in one of his prayers: "*Was it through ignorance that I suffered innocent blood to be spilt by a false pretended justice? or that I permitted a wrong way of worship to be set up in Scotland? or injured the bishops in England?*" By which we see, that the *injury* done unto the bishops of England is put into the same scale with his permitting a *wrong way of worship* in Scotland, and the shedding of the *innocent blood* of the Earl of Strafford." *

By the passing of this bill the king's party was

* Heylin's Life of Archbishop Laud, p. 493.

exceedingly weakened: and, as they never afterwards put any confidence in him that he would deny the parliament any act whatsoever that would be urged with importunity, so they partly withdrew or suffered themselves to be carried along with the stream.

The house of commons published their *reasons* against the bishops' votes in parliament, which were ably answered by Bishop Hall in his Treatise entitled *A short answer to those nine arguments, which are brought against the bishops sitting in parliament.*" Afterwards, by order of a committee of the house of commons, there was published "*An humble examination of a printed abstract of the answers to nine reasons of the house of commons, against the votes of bishops in parliament.*" *

As a curiosity, the *nine reasons* of the commons are here given, and the reader is referred to Bishop Hall's short answer to them in vol. x. of his Works, pp. 62--64.

1. Reason of the house of commons against the votes of bishops in parliament: "Because it is a very great hinderance to the exercise of their ministerial function.

2. "Because they do vow and undertake at

* Lond. printed for P. Stephens and C. Meredith, 1641, 4to.

their ordination, when they enter into holy orders, that they will give themselves wholly to that vocation.

3. " Because councils and canons, in several ages, do forbid them to meddle with secular affairs.

4. " Because the twenty-four bishops have a dependency upon the archbishops, and because of their canonical obedience to them.

5. " Because they are but for their lives, and therefore are not fit to have legislative power over the honours, inheritances, persons, and liberties of others.

6. " Because of bishops' dependency and expectancy of translations to places of greater profit.

7. " The several bishops have of late much encroached upon the consciences and properties of the subject; and they and their successors will be much encouraged still to encroach, and the subject will be much discouraged from complaining against such encroachments, if twenty-six of that order be to be judges upon these complaints. The same reason extends to their legislative power, in any bill to pass for the reformation of their power upon any inconvenience by it.

8. " Because the whole number of them is interested to maintain the jurisdiction of bishops, which hath been found so grievous to the three

kingdoms, that Scotland hath utterly abolished it, and multitudes in England and Ireland have petitioned against it.

9. "Because bishops being lords of parliament, it setteth too great a distance between them and the rest of their brethren in the ministry, which occasioneth pride in them, discontent in others, and disquiet in the church." *

His Majesty, having been assured that Lord Kimbolton, and five members of the house of commons, viz Denzill Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerigge, John Pym, John Hamden, and William Stroud, Esqrs. had invited the Scots into England, and were now the chief encouragers of those tumults, which occasioned the exclusion of the bishops from parliament; that they had aspersed his government, were endeavouring to deprive him of his royal power, and were conspiring to levy war against him, resolved to impeach them of high treason. Accordingly, Jan. 2, 1641-2, Sir Edward Herbert, the Attorney General, by his Majesty's command, accused the above-mentioned persons of high treason; but the members not being ordered into custody, as his Majesty expected, the king went himself the following day into the house with his guard, in order to seize them. Being apprized of the king's coming,

* Harris's Life of Charles I, p. 382, ed. 1814.

the members had just time enough to make their escape into the city. While the king was in the chair, the house was in a terrible panic, the door and all the avenues being filled with officers and soldiers. After a little while the king withdrew, when he found that those members had escaped : and as soon as his Majesty was gone, they adjourned till the next day, and then for a week. The king proclaimed the accused members traitors ; but they were vindicated by the parliament, as well as protected and entertained by the city of London, who conducted them, Jan. 11, in great pomp to Westminster, from whence the king, with his family, had retired the day before to Hampton Court. In this situation of affairs, the king resolved to retire to York, whither he travelled by easy stages, and never returned to London, till he was brought thither as a criminal to execution.

The king's coming to the house of commons in person to demand five of their members impeached of high treason, was the most unlucky step that could have been taken at that juncture ; and the indiscretion of some that attended the king to the lobby of the house, was insisted upon as an argument that the king was resolved *to use violence upon the parliament*, which it is to be presumed was a thing far from his thoughts. It is said that the persons who advised the king to this

rash attempt, are justly chargeable with all the blood that was afterwards spilt during the "grand rebellion."

Though endeavours on both sides have not been wanting to accommodate matters by soft and healing methods, yet now, after the above circumstance, scarce any hopes of a conciliation remained. When, after several removals from place to place, his Majesty set up his standard at Nottingham, there ensued a fatal and bloody war, which probably was at first not designed by either side.*

The twelve bishops, confined in the Tower, petitioned the peers for council, which was granted them: and about a fortnight after their commitment, Jan. 17, 1641-2, they appeared at the bar of the house of lords, and pleaded *not guilty*, in *manner and form*. They presented a petition also, praying for a speedy trial, and that in the mean time they might be admitted to bail. Accordingly, the 25th of January was appointed for their trial; but their request of being admitted to bail was now denied them, and so they were remanded back to the Tower. It appears that the principal design of their impeachment, and of proroguing their trial, was to keep them from the house, till

* Welwood's Memoirs, pp. 63-65.

the bill for taking away their votes was passed, for the commons must have been conscious that it was as easy to charge them with *murder*, or *adultery*, as with high treason.* When the day of their trial arrived, the Lieutenant of the Tower brought them again to the bar of the house; but, after severe and bitter declamations made against them, they were told that it was then too late in the day to proceed in their trial, and that another day should be fixed, "which day, to this day," says Bishop Hall in his "Hard Measure," "never came."†

However, after some weeks, as the charge of *high treason* against the bishops could not be maintained, the commons drew up another bill, wherein they declared them "to be delinquents of a very high nature," and that it should be enacted that they should lose their spiritual promotions for life, only there should be an annual allowance to each bishop for his maintenance.

Feb. 21, 1641--2, it was ordered that a bill should be drawn up for the forfeiture of the *temporal* and *spiritual* estates of these twelve prelates, and for the imprisonment of their persons during

* Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i, p. 54.

† The reader is referred to the Bishop's "Hard Measure," for a more particular account of the circumstances of this *mock trial* and unjust imprisonment.

their lives, and for the disposal of all livings that might fall within their gifts: but afterwards it was resolved that the archbishop of York should not forfeit his *temporals*, and that he should be allowed £100. a year out of his ecclesiastical incomes. The bishop of Durham was to be allowed £800. a year. The bishop of Ely £100. The bishop of Norwich £400. The bishop of Bath and Wells £100. The bishop of Lichfield and Coventry £800. The bishop of Gloucester £200. The bishop of Hereford £500. The bishop of Peterborough £100. The bishop of Oxford £100. The bishop of St. Asaph £500. And the bishop of Landaff £200. "This bill was sent up to the lords, and by them also passed; and there hath ever since lain," says Bishop Hall, in his "*Hard Measure*." Of how little effect this order proved for the maintenance of these venerable prelates, it may be guessed from the account Bishop Hall gives us of his own case.*

The twelve bishops again, after some weeks, petitioned the Lords to be admitted to bail, and have liberty to return to their respective homes. At the Earl of Essex's motion, the lords admitted them to bail. Their release so offended the commons, that they expostulated with the lords in

* See "*Hard Measure*."

terms of great indignation, and caused the bishops to be recommitted to the Tower, where they remained about six weeks longer, till the 5th of May, 1642, when, upon their earnest petition, they were set at liberty, upon giving five thousand pounds bond.

During their confinement in the Tower, the bishops preached in their turn every Lord's-day to a large auditory of citizens. One of the sermons, which Bishop Hall preached in the Tower, March 20th, 1642, is the thirty-sixth sermon in the fifth volume of his Works, from James iv, 8. *Draw nigh unto God, and he will draw nigh to you. Cleanse your hands, ye sinners; and purge your hearts, ye double-minded.*

Bishop Hall has given us a very lively portraiture of the placid state of his mind, his patience, innocence, and conscious integrity, not only in his "*Letter from the Tower*," and in his "*Hard Measure*," but also in his treatise entitled "*The Free Prisoner, or the Comfort of Restraint*," written by him in the Tower, and addressed to a certain friend: he considered this restraint as *safety*. "This strong tower," says he, "serves not so much for our prison, as for our defence; what honor soever the name may carry in it. I bless God for these walls, out of which, I know not where we could for the time have been safe from the rage of the

mis-incensed multitude. Poor seduced souls! They were taught it was piety to be cruel; and were mispersuaded to hate and condemn us for that, which should have procured their reverence and honour, even that holy station, which we hold in God's church; and to curse those of us who had deserved nothing but their thanks and prayers, railing on our profession in the streets, and rejoicing in our supposed ruin. "*Father, forgive them, for they know not what they did.*" Here we were out of the danger of this mis-raised fury; and had leisure to pray for the quenching of those wild fires of contention and causeless malice, which, to our great grief, we saw wicked incendiaries daily to cast amongst God's dear and well-minded people. Here we have well and happily approved, with the blessed Apostle, that whatever our restraint be, *the word of God is not bound*. With what liberty, with what zeal, with what success, hath that been preached to all comers! Let them say, whether the Tower had ever so many such guests, or such benedictions; so as, if the place have rendered us safe, we have endeavoured to make it happy. Wherein our performances have seemed to confute that, which Cornelius, bishop of Rome, long since observed, "that the mind laden with heavy burdens of afflictions, is not able to do that service, which it can do, when it is free and at ease." Our

troubles, through God's mercy, made us more active, and our labours more effectual."*

But his "Letter sent from the Tower, to a private friend, and by him thought fit to be published," indicates in a particular manner the state of his mind, and his sense of integrity, during his unjust confinement. This celebrated letter is here inserted:—

"To my much-respected good friend, Mr. H. S.

"WORTHY SIR,

"You think it strange, that I should salute you from hence. How can you choose, when I do yet still wonder to see myself here? My intentions and this place are such strangers, that I cannot enough marvel how they met.

"But, howsoever, I do in all humility kiss the rod wherewith I smart; as well knowing whose hand it is that yields it. To that Infinite Justice, who can be innocent? but to my king and country never heart was or can be more clear; and I shall beshrew my haud, if it shall have, against my thoughts, justly offended either: and if either say so, I reply not; as, having learned not to contest with those that can command legions.

* Bishop Hall's Works, vol. vii, pp. 519, 520.

"In the mean time, it is a kind but a cold compliment, that you pity me; an affection well placed, where a man deserves to be miserable: for me, I am not conscious of such merit.

"You tell me in what fair terms I stood, not long since, with the world; how large room I had in the hearts of the best men: but can you tell me how I lost it? Truly, I have, in the presence of my God, narrowly searched my own bosom. I have unpartially ransacked this fag-end of my life, and curiously examined every step of my ways; and I cannot, by the most exact scrutiny of my saddest thoughts, find what it is that I have done to forfeit that good estimation wherewith you say I was once blessed.

"I can secretly arraign and condemn myself of infinite transgressions before the tribunal of heaven. Who, that dwells in a house of clay, can be pure in his sight that charged his angels with folly? O God, when I look on the reckonings betwixt thee and my soul, and find my shameful arrears, I can be most vile in my own sight, because I have deserved to be so in thine: yet, even then, in thy most pure eyes, give me leave the while not to abdicate my sincerity. Thou knowest my heart desires to be right with thee, whatever my failings may have been: and I know what value thou puttest on those sincere

desires, notwithstanding all the intermixtures of our miserable infirmities. These I can penitently bewail to thee: but, in the mean time, what have I done to men? Let them not spare to shame me with the late sinful declinations of my age; and fetch blushes, if they can, from a wrinkled face.

“ Let my enemies (for such I perceive I have, and those are the surest monitors) say what I have offended. For their bitter irritation, my clear conscience bids me boldly to take up the challenge of good Samuel, ‘ Behold, here I am! Witness against me before the Lord, and before his anointed: whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any bribe, to blind mine eyes therewith? and I will restore it you.’

“ Can they say, that I bore up the reins of government too hard; and exercised my jurisdiction in a rigorous and tyrannical way, insolently lording it over my charge? Malice itself, perhaps, would, but dare not speak it; or, if it should, the attestation of so grave and numerous a clergy would choke such impudence. Let them witness, whether they were not still entertained by me with an equal return of reverence, as if they had been all bishops with me, or I only a presbyter with them; according to the old rule

of Egbert, archbishop of York, *Intra domum episcopus collegam se presbyterorum esse cognoscat.* Let them say, whether aught here looked like despotical; or sounded rather of imperious commands, than of brotherly complying: whether I have not rather, from some beholders, undergone the censure of a too humble remissness; as perhaps, stooping too low beneath the eminence of episcopal dignity: whether I have not suffered as much in some opinions, for the winning mildness of my administration, as some others for a rough severity.

“Can they say, for this aspersion is likewise common, that I barred the free course of religious exercises, by the suppression of painful and peaceable preachers? If shame will suffer any man to object it, let me challenge him to instance but in one name. Nay, the contrary is so famously known in the western parts, that every mouth will herein justify me. What free admission and encouragement have I always given to all the sons of peace that came with God’s message in their mouths! What missuggestions have I waved! What blows have I borne off in the behalf of some of them, from some gain-sayers? How have I often and publicly professed, that, as well might we complain of too many stars in the sky, as too many orthodox preachers in the church?

“Can they complain, that I fretted the necks of my clergy with the uneasy yoke of new and illegal impositions! Let them, whom I have thus hurt, blazon my unjust severity, and write their wrongs in marble: but if, disliking all novel devices, I have held close to those ancient rules which limited the audience of our godly predecessors; if I have grated upon no man’s conscience by the pressure, no not by the tender, of the late oath, or any unprescribed ceremony; if I have freely, in the Committee appointed by the most honourable house of peers, declared my open dislike in all innovations, both in doctrine and rites; why doth my innocence suffer?

“Can they challenge me as a close and back-stair friend to Popery or Arminianism, who have, in so many pulpits and so many presses, cried down both? Surely, the very paper, that I have spent in the refutation of both these, is enough to stop more mouths than can be guilty of this calumny.

“Can they check me with a lazy silence in my place? with infrequency of preaching? Let the populous auditories, where I have lived, witness, whether, having furnished all the churches near me with able preachers, I took not all opportunities of supplying such courses, as I could get, in my cathedral; and, when my tongue was silent, let the world say whether my hand were idle.

“ Lastly, since no man can offer to upbraid me with too much pomp, which is wont to be the common eye-sore of our envied profession, can any man pretend to a ground of taxing me, as I perceive one of late hath most unjustly done, of too much worldliness? Surely, of all the vices forbidden in the decalogue, there is no one, which my heart, on due examination, can less fasten on me, than this. He, that made it, knows that he hath put into it a true disregard (save only for necessary use) of the world; and of all that it can boast of, whether for profit, pleasure, or glory. No, no: I know the world too well to dote on it. While I am in it, how can I but use it? but I never care, never yield to enjoy it. It were too great a shame for a philosopher, a christian, a divine, a bishop, to have his thoughts grovelling here upon earth: for mine, they scorn the employment; and look upon all these sublunary distractions, as upon this man's false censure, with no other eyes than contempt.

“ And now, Sir, since I cannot, how secretly faulty soever, guess at my own public exorbitances, I beseech you, where you hear my name traduced, learn of mine accusers, whose lyncean eyes would seem to see further into me than my own, what singular offence I have committed.

“ If, perhaps, my calling be my crime; it is no other than the most holy fathers of the church in

the primitive and succeeding ages, ever since the apostles, many of them also blessed martyrs, have been guilty of: it is no other than all the holy doctors of the church in all generations ever since have celebrated, as most reverend, sacred, inviolable: it is no other than all the whole christian world, excepting one small handfal of our neighbours, whose condition denied them the opportunity of this government, is known to enjoy, without contradiction. How safe is it erring in such company!

“ If my offence be in my pen, which hath, as it could, undertaken the defence of that apostolical institution, though with all modesty and fair respects to the churches differing from us, I cannot deprecate a truth; and such I know this to be: which is since so cleared by better hands, that I well hope the better informed world cannot but sit down convinced. Neither doubt I, but that, as metals receive the more lustre with often rubbing, this truth, the more agitation it undergoes, shall appear every day more glorious. Only, may the good Spirit of the Almighty speedily dispel all those dusky prejudices from the minds of men, which may hinder them from discerning so clear a light.

“ Shortly, then, knowing nothing by myself, whereby I have deserved to alienate any good

heart from me, I shall resolve to rest securely upon the acquitting testimony of a good conscience, and the secret approbation of my gracious God; who shall one day cause mine innocence to break forth as the morning light, and shall give me beauty for bonds; and, for a light and momentary affliction, an eternal weight of glory.

“ To shut up all, and to surcease your trouble, I write not this as one that would pump for favor and reputation from the disaffected multitude; For I charge you, that what passes privately betwixt us may not fall under common eyes: But only with this desire and intention, to give you true grounds, where you shall hear my name mentioned with a causeless offence, to yield me a just and charitable vindication. Go you on still to do the office of a true friend, yea, the duty of a just man, in speaking in the cause of the dumb, in righting the innocent, in rectifying the misguided; and, lastly, the service of a faithful and christian patriot, in helping the times with the best aid of your prayers; which is daily the task of

“ Your much devoted
and thankful friend,

“ JOS. NORVIC.”

From the Tower,
Jan. 24, 1641-2.

As soon as Bishop Hall was released from the Tower, he immediately withdrew to Norwich, to which See he was translated in November, 1641. He was not released from the Tower till May 5, 1642, in a few days after he came for the first time to his new diocese; and he tells us that he was at first received with much greater respect than might have been expected in such troublesome times. The day after his arrival in Norwich, he preached in the Cathedral "to a numerous and attentive people," and he "was not sparing of his pains in this way," till he was forbidden by men, and at last disabled by God."

An account of his sufferings and deprivations are given in a subsequent part of this volume, together with the treatise entitled his "**HARD MEASURE**," containing a history of his own sufferings, written by himself; a Treatise which it is impossible to read without a degree of honest indignation at the meanness, as well as the barbarity, of his merciless persecutors.

CHAPTER VIII.

AFTER the king had retired to York, as it has been before mentioned, every thing tended to an open rupture between his Majesty and the parliament, since the legislature was divided, and the constitution broken. At this time a long paper war (the prelude to one of a far more fatal consequence) ensued, between the king and parliament: both sides were loading each other with abundance of reproaches and bitter language, and neither was now thinking about an accommodation.

In order to encourage the factious and schismatical, who were imagining that the reformation was carried on too slowly, the parliament published a declaration, "that they intended a due and necessary reformation of the government and liturgy of the church, and to take away nothing in the one or other, but what should be evil and justly offensive, or at least unnecessary and burdensome; and would speedily have consultation with godly and learned divines: but

because that would never of itself attain the end, they would use their utmost endeavours to establish learned and preaching ministers with a good and sufficient maintenance through the kingdom."

This declaration, which was intended to encourage their friends who were anxious about their intended reformation of the church, as well as to allay the fears of others, whose eyes were beginning to open and to see the destruction threatened to church and state, was printed and dispersed in every market-town in the kingdom. June 2, 1642, the parliament, by a committee, presented the king with the sum of all their desires for the reformation and safety of church and state, in nineteen propositions. Those relative to the church were the following:—"That his Majesty would be pleased to consent, that such a reformation be made of the church government and liturgy, as both houses of parliament shall advise, wherein they intend to have consultation with divines, according to the declaration above; and that his Majesty will contribute his best assistance for the raising a sufficient maintenance for preaching ministers through the kingdom; and will give consent to the laws for the taking away innovations, superstition, and pluralities, and against scandalous ministers."

In answer to these propositions, his Majesty

referred them to what he has said in his answer to their petition and remonstrance in his first declaration, and to his message sent on passing the bill against the bishops' votes. But as for the bills against superstitions, innovations, &c. His Majesty declared he could say nothing to them till he saw them.*

It was now manifest that the controversy between the king and parliament, which had been hitherto carried on with the pen, must be decided with the sword. Both sides collected as much strength as possible, and the horrible scene of civil war began, and the land was deluged with blood. The writer of this volume refers his courteous readers to Lord Clarendon's History of the Grand Rebellion, and other historians, for a copious and detailed account of that scene of confusion, of blood-shedding, and miseries, which now ensued in consequence of the unhappy differences between the king and parliament. Truly it was a scene as horrible and shocking to humanity, as it was scandalous, cruel, and dishonourable to the English nation. Those times will be an indelible blot on the page of English history, and a disgrace to our country. But the troubles of those times, may, however, be viewed

* Warner's Eccles. Hist. of England, vol. ii, p. 552.

as wisely ordered by Providence, as a memorable lesson and warning to posterity, to guard against factious parties in *religion* and *politics*. The result of those troubles and confusion brought then upon the church and state, teaches us how delusive and destructive must have been the principles of those *patriots* and *puritans*, who were the authors and promoters of those convulsions.

If any ways or means could have been adopted in time to restore a mutual confidence between the king and the parliament, the remaining differences in the church might easily have been reconciled and accommodated. But as the flames of the civil war spread wider and grew fiercer, the wounds of the church were also aggravated and enlarged. And when the parliament called in the Scots to their assistance, and the *solemn league and covenant* was subscribed, these wounds became incurable. The state of the controversy was then entirely changed, and the mask was stript off. The puritans no longer sought for a reformation of the hierarchy, and for liberty of conscience, but for the same spiritual power which had been exercised by the bishops, and to introduce the *presbyterian* government in its full extent, as the established religion of England. To this purpose a bill was passed by the Commons, for the utter abolition

and extirpation of episcopacy. And it was determined by them, that no overtures for peace should be made to the king till this bill was passed in the house of lords, where it would never otherwise have been submitted to.

From the year 1642 till the end of the civil war, the established form of government in the church was interrupted. So the ancient hierarchy of England was suspended, and lay prostrate for about eighteen years: but it was never legally dissolved, for the king would not, and did not give his royal assent.

The parliament now having usurped the sovereignty, by still requiring new concessions, and a further abridgment of the regal power, prevented the king from all possibility of an accommodation. Besides the nineteen propositions already mentioned, they requested the king in express terms to abolish episcopacy *entirely*, and that all ecclesiastical disputes should be decided by an assembly of divines: but the king would not, by any means, assent to such measures. The parliament therefore passed an ordinance in June, 1643, "for the calling an assembly of learned and godly divines, and others, to settle the government and liturgy of the church of England, &c."

Before this assembly met, the king issued a proclamation to forbid their meeting, declaring

that no acts done by them ought to be received by his subjects, and threatening to proceed against them with the utmost severity of the law. Sixty-nine, however, out of one hundred and twenty, of which the assembly was to consist, assembled on the day appointed, July 1, 1643, in King Henry VIIIth's chapel, according to their summons. Few of the episcopal divines appeared, and those who did, withdrew in disgust. Lord Clarendon says, that out of the one hundred and twenty, there were not above twenty who were not declared and avowed enemies to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; some of them infamous in their lives and conversations, and most of them of very mean parts in learning, if not of scandalous ignorance, and of no other reputation than of malice to the church of England."* Perhaps the noble historian is rather too severe here; as certainly many of the divines of that assembly were men of exemplary piety and devotion, who had a zeal for the glory of God, and the purity of the christian faith and practice.† All the episcopal divines soon left this assembly: some disdained to sit at all with them, as Dr. Brownrigge, bishop of Exeter, Dr. Westfield, bishop

* Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. i, p. 530.

† See a full list of the members of this Assembly, in Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iii, p. 50, 51.

of Bristol, Dr. Hacket, Dr. Morley, Dr. Saunderson, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Holdsworth, &c.—Archbishop Usher condescended to appear for a little while in the assembly: they did justice to that most learned prelate in expelling him from the assembly for his attending the king at Oxford, and refusing to return; by so doing they honored him and scandalized themselves.—Dr. Featley continued to attend, till he was imprisoned by the parliament on account of his attachment to episcopacy, and for holding a correspondence with Dr. Usher.

The parliament finding themselves unable to contend with the royal forces, had solicited, as it was before observed, the assistance of the Scots. But they were not disposed to form any alliance, except parliament would engage to establish the presbyterian form of government in the church of England. The English Commissioners agreed to these terms, and accordingly a *solemn league and covenant* * was drawn up, agreed to by the convention of the states, and the general assembly of the church of Scotland; and, being approved of by the Westminster assembly, it was sworn to, and subscribed by both houses of parliament, and by the assembly,

* See this Covenant at large in Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iii, pp. 66-70, and the mode of taking it.

with great solemnity, Monday, Sept. 25, 1643, in the church of St. Margaret's, Westminster.*

This "solemn league and covenant," besides mutual defence against all opponents, bound the subscribers to endeavour the extirpation of popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness—to maintain the rights and privileges of parliament, together with the king's authority—and to discover and bring to justice all incendiaries and malignants.

It was ordered to be taken by all persons above eighteen years of age; and the assembly were commanded to draw up an exhortation to persuade the people to it.† Orders also were issued by the Commons to disperse the covenant throughout the whole kingdom; and the names of those who refused it, were to be returned to the house.

As this covenant contained obligations upon conscience, which honest persons might scruple as contrary to the laws, so the imposing of it as a *test* was very oppressive:—it was truly a great

* Dr. Walker describes the proceedings at taking this covenant thus—"Two or three divines successively "went up" into the pulpit to *pray*: others to make *orations* upon the work of the day, where they uttered such *extravagant* things in commendation of the covenant, as cannot easily be imagined; Mr. Henderson concluding the solemnity with as extravagant commendations of what they had done."

Sufferings of the Clergy, part i, p. 34.

† See the Exhortation in Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iii, p. 71.

abuse of that sovereign power, which so was much complained of in the king.

His Majesty issued a proclamation to forbid the taking of this covenant, but it was of no effect. However, many and heavy complaints were made of the grievances and oppression which this *test* inflicted upon the clergy throughout the kingdom. It proved a weapon in the hands of the Commons, enabling them with more ease and certainty to discover *malignant or dissaffected ministers*—the *modest* appellation given now to all the episcopal and loyal clergy. When this covenant was tendered, and any of the clergy refused it, they were upon this turned out of their livings.

From the time of taking this *covenant*, we may date the dissolution of the hierarchy; though as yet it was not abolished by an ordinance of parliament. There were now no ecclesiastical courts, no visitations, no regard to the canons, ceremonies, nor even to the liturgy itself.

The assembly of divines now did all the business of the church: the parishes chose their own ministers, the assembly examined and approved them, and the parliament confirmed them in their livings. But in order to secure a succession of ministers trained up in the principles which the parliament had adopted, the earl of

Manchester * was ordered to purify the university of Cambridge, the head quarters of the forces under his command. Accordingly, the earl requested the attendance of the masters, fellows, and scholars, on a certain day, and the *covenant* was tendered to all, who were suspected of disaffection to the parliament, that is, to all those who had any regard to the ancient constitution in church and state. A great number of graduates were despoiled of their livelihood, and banished the university, merely for refusing the *solemn league and covenant*.

It is difficult to compute the number of clergymen who suffered severely, and lost their livings by order of parliament during the civil war. But whether more or fewer suffered, the arbitrary power was the same; and the not executing it, might be for want of opportunity, in many instances, or because they could not. According to the best computation, the number of suffering clergy could not be less than TWO THOUSAND, whom the parliament ejected out of their livings, for their obedience to the laws and constitution of their country. A *fifth* part of the revenues of these ejected clergy was reserved for the maintenance

* The Earl of Manchester, in the life-time of his father, was styled Lord Kimbolton, and was one of the members impeached by the king.

of their families, which, in such calamitous and tumultuous time, was a *charitable* act; but it does not appear that due and proper attention was observed that such destitute families should be paid this pittance of *fifths*.

It is truly deplorable that many pious, worthy, and learned bishops and clergymen, who withdrew from the world, and were desirous to live peaceably, suffered dreadfully in these times—their estates and livings were sequestered, their houses and goods ransacked and plundered by disorderly soldiers, and they themselves and families reduced to live upon the *fifths*, or a small pension from parliament, because they continued firm in their attachment to the constitution of church and state, and would not take the *covenant*, or sanction the *new directory* * for public worship, which was introduced after abolishing our venerable liturgy. Among these sufferers, the most reverend Archbishop Usher, Bishop Morton, Bishop Hall, and many others, may be reckoned as some of the chief. To take away the whole property of these divines, only for obedience to the laws of their country, and reduce them to a *fifth*, and even this at the mercy of sequestrators, was extremely rigorous, cruel, and oppressive. †

* See the New Directory, in Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. v, p. 52, Appendix.

† See Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iii, p. 37.

A great and barbarous devastation was now made of all the decorations, ornaments, and painted windows in cathedrals and churches. The monuments of the dead were violated and mutilated, the organs were taken down and demolished, and the truly venerable remains of antiquity were damaged and destroyed. In short, every outrage which ignorance, fanatic rage, and enthusiasm could inspire, was committed on the churches.—The account of the *reformation* of Norwich cathedral by these *Goths and Vandals*, as given us by Bishop Hall in his *Hard Measure*, is a fair specimen of the rude violence and indiscriminate devastations committed on other cathedrals and churches: it gives us the character of these *Gothic reformers*, and shews us the spirit by which they were actuated.*

Though the majority of the commons had at first agreed to reduce episcopacy to the standard of the first or second century, yet they had not determined to lay aside the name and function of a bishop, and to establish a presbyterian government, till application was made to the Scots for assistance against the king. As it was highly probable that the major part had no intention at first to extirpate episcopacy, so there can be no doubt but

* Dr. Grey, in his *Examination of Neal*, gives several instances of those barbarities committed on the cathedrals and churches.

that some few puritanical members fully intended it, though they industriously concealed their intention till an opportunity of carrying their design into execution should offer itself.

Parliament was convinced that the war against the king could not be successfully carried on without the aid of the Scots: therefore, in order to obtain this aid, they complied to receive the presbyterian form of church government, and the assembly of divines were ordered to agree upon such a form of discipline as would preserve an union with the kirk.

The puritans had now the direction of every thing in the church, and actually had demolished the hierarchy before they had agreed what sort of building to erect in its room. When therefore the ancient order of worship and discipline observed in the Anglican church was extirpated, the several parties or sects among the puritans, which had laid before concealed under that general name, began to shew themselves; and each of them claimed a share in laying the foundation stone of the new model. Many of the puritan divines were rigid Calvinists, and in their sermons and writings inculcated those *dogmas* by which they eventually opened a wide door for licentiousness and *antinomianism*; so that many took upon them to justify the hidden works of darkness and dishonesty. The political principles of many of

these men were not less absurd, nor less destructive of order and good government, than those they were actuated by in religion.

From the time it was agreed that the presbyterian model should be adopted, the name of puritans is to be sunk; and they were afterwards distinguished under the denomination of Presbyterians, Erastians, and Independents, who all had their own different views.

The Presbyterians had taken their plan from Scotland, and advanced it into *jus divinum*, or a *divine institution*, derived expressly from Christ and his apostles; but this met with as much opposition from the other sectaries as episcopacy itself.

The Erastians believed church government to be a creature of the state, would not admit the pastoral office to be anything more than *persuasive*; and denied any spiritual jurisdiction or coercive power over the conscience, or that any one form of church government was prescribed in scripture as a rule for future ages. For this opinion they had the authority of several of our first reformers. *

* Cranmer, Redmayne, Cox, &c. The eminently-learned Dr. Lightfoot was a principal advocate of this scheme in the Assembly of Divines.—*Erastians* were so called from Erastus, a German physician and divine of the 16th century.

The Independents formed another party. The principles upon which they founded their church government, were confined to scripture precedent, without any regard to ancient practice, or modern innovations; they did not tie themselves to any resolutions, without room for alteration upon any further views and enquiry. On these principles they built a system, "that every particular congregation of christians has an entire and complete Jurisdiction over its members, to be exercised by the elders thereof within itself. They did not, however, claim such an entire independency as that an offending church is not to submit to an open examination by other neighbouring churches: they practised no church censures but admonition; and upon obstinate offenders, excommunication. They professed an agreement in doctrine with the articles of the church of England; and their officers or rulers in the church were pastors, teachers, and elders with deacons. Though they did not approve of a prescribed form of worship, yet they thought public prayers should be framed by the meditation and study of their ministers; and they offered up public prayers for kings and all that were in authority, read the scriptures in their assemblies, administered the sacraments, sung psalms, and made a collection for the poor every sunday. It has been thought proper here to give this particular

account of this sect, as most of our historians did not understand their religious nor political principles, and so have confounded them with the Anabaptists, who about this time appeared in England, who were republican in their political principles, and despised learning and ordination in their teachers. *

It was certainly a grand mistake of these *reformers* to destroy one building before they had agreed upon another. But so it was that the ancient and venerable order of worship and discipline in the church of England was set aside above a year before any other form was appointed. During this *inter-regnum* in the church, sects, parties, and heresies sprung up like mushrooms, which grew so luxuriant and strong, that afterwards it was not possible to destroy them. Such an oversight in persons, who pretended to possess so much light, and to have so pious a care of the church, is rather to be wondered at. When all the bounds of order in church and state were thrown down; when *the hedges of God's vineyard* were broken down, the natural consequence was, that the *wild boar of the forest should root it up*. Every man now, as he was prompted by the warmth of his temper, excited by emulation or

* Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iii, pp. 130-135. Warrers' Eccles. Hist. of England, vol. ii, pp. 562, 563.

vanity, or supported by hypocrisy, endeavoured to distinguish himself beyond his fellows, and to arrive at a superior pitch of fanaticism; the soldier, the merchant, the mechanic, indulging the fervour of an holy zeal, and guided by the influence of the Spirit, as he pretended, gave himself up to an inward and superior direction, and was, in a manner, consecrated by an immediate intercourse with heaven.* Bishop Hall, about two years before this time, when a prisoner in the Tower, accounted it no small benefit that he was then placed, where, says he, "I hear no invectives, no false doctrines, no sermocinations of ironmongers, feltmakers, cobblers, broom men, grooms, or any other of those inspired ignorants.† And in his sermon intitled "*The Mourner in Sion*," he gives a description of the deplorable state of religion and morality during those years of confusion; "one beats the keys into the sword, or hangs them at the magistrate's girdle; so as he suspends religion upon the mere will and pleasure of sovereignty. One allows plurality or community of wives: another allows a man to divorce that wife he hath, upon slight occasions, and to take another. One is a hunter, another is a seeker, a third is a shaker. One dares

* Warner's Eccles. Hist. of England, vol. ii, p. 564.

† Bishop Hall's Works, vol. vii, p. 518.

question, yea, disparages the sacred scriptures of God; another denies the soul's immortality; a third, the body's resurrection. One spits his poison upon the blessed Trinity; another blasphemes the Lord Jesus, and opposes the eternity of his Godhead. One is altogether for inspirations, professing himself above the sphere of all ordinances, yea, above the blood of Christ himself. Another teaches, that the more villany he can commit, the more holy he is; that only confidence in sinning is perfection of sanctity; that there is no hell but remorse. To put an end to this list of blasphemies, the very mention whereof is enough to distemper my tongue and your ears; one miscreant dares give himself out for God Almighty; another, for the Holy Ghost; another, for the Lord Christ; another, (a vile adulterous strumpet) for the Virgin Mary." *

The assembly of divines having given their advice to the parliament relative to providing a succession of ministers, an ordinance for that purpose was therefore passed, October, 1644. Ten members of the assembly, and thirteen presbyters of the city of London, were appointed to examine, and ordain by imposition of hands, all candidates thought qualified to be admitted into the ministry.

* Works, vol. v, p. 566.

The assembly proceeded in the next place about a form of public worship. The liturgy being abolished about a year before, at length, in January, 1644--5, a *Directory* for public worship was published, sanctioned by an ordinance of parliament. This ordinance repealed the acts of King Edward VI, and Queen Elizabeth, by which the liturgy had been established, and prohibited the use of it in every church or chapel in England and Wales. So the *Directory* continued till the restoration of Charles II, when our scriptural liturgy was restored, the ordinance for its abolition having never obtained the royal assent.

It was a considerable time before this great revolution in the form of public worship took place over the kingdom. In some places the churchwardens could not or would not procure a *Directory*: in others they despised it and continued the liturgy. Some would read no form; and others would use one of their own. In order to establish the *Directory*, the parliament called in all the Common Prayer Books, and imposed a fine upon such ministers as should read any other form than that contained in the *Directory*. The use of the liturgy in any private place or family was also prohibited, under the penalty of £5. for the first offence, £10. for the second, and for the third, a year's imprisonment. Such ministers as would not observe the *Directory*, were to forfeit

forty shillings; and those who wrote, preached, or printed any thing in derogation of it, were to forfeit not less than £5. and not more than £50. to the use of the poor.

These were the primary acts of *presbyterian uniformity*, equal to any severities or oppressions complained of under the government of Charles I. and of his royal predecessor: for, if the parliament had a right to abrogate the use of the liturgy in churches and chapels, which most certainly they had not, where was the liberty of conscience, which they made so much noise about, when they prohibited the liturgy to closets and private families? When the presbyterians were going on to press the use of the *Directory* over the kingdom, his Majesty published a proclamation, requiring the Book of Common Prayer to be observed and used in all churches and chapels, and that the *Directory* should not be admitted or observed. His Majesty also issued warrants, under his own hand, to the heads of the university of Oxford, commanding them to read divine service as usual, and assuring the peers then at Oxford, "that he was still determined to live and die for the privileges of his crown, for his friends, and for church government." *

Here it may be proper to give a brief account of

* Warner's Eccles. Hist. of England, vol. ii, pp. 564, 565.

the sad catastrophe of Archbishop Laud, who had been imprisoned in the Tower nearly four years, on an impeachment of *high treason*. The trial of this famous prelate was pending five months, upon the general charge that he endeavoured to subvert the constitution, the protestant religion, and the rights of parliament. His Grace defended himself undauntedly and fully for above twenty days with much art, vivacity, oratory, and firmness; and, considering the animosity and malignancy of his adversaries, with much more patience and discretion than could have been expected from a man of his warm and imperious temper. The lords acquitted him of high treason, and so deferred giving judgment. The commons upon this, had recourse to their old expedient of procuring petitions from the city of London, praying for speedy justice; in other words, menacing and terrifying the two houses into their measures. But lest this should not prevail, the commons changed their attack into a bill of *attainder*, against which Dr. Laud spoke at their bar for several hours. The lords consented to this bill, though his Grace produced a pardon from his Majesty under the great seal. They pretended that the king could not pardon a judgment of parliament, when the nation was in a state of war. The commons with difficulty were prevailed upon that the sentence of hanging should be changed

into beheading; which circumstance, as the prisoner was a bishop, a privy counsellor, and the first peer of the realm, shews the rancour and inveteracy with which he was persecuted even to death. His Grace was beheaded on Tower-hill, Jan. 10, 1644--5.

Our historians in general speak of this famous person with great partiality, either in his favour or dispraise. He was certainly neither the *saint* which some have described him, nor the *devil* which others have painted him. With openness and sincerity there was joined an ungovernable heat and impetuosity of temper, which often drove him off his guard, and betrayed him into indiscretions, which afforded a handle against him. As he possessed such a natural temper, it was a misfortune to him to be placed in the high rank of a Metropolitan and Prime Minister. On account of his high principles in church and state, he was no friend to the constitution of his country, and so he made many to be his implacable enemies. Though his Grace was a learned man, yet he was more a man of business than of letters. Lord Clarendon allows that he retained too keen a memory of those who had ill used him; and that there was something very boisterous and turbulent in his disposition.* Let his adversaries say what

* History of the Rebellion, vol. i, p. 91.

they will, he was undoubtedly a sincere and firm protestant, and had no inclination to become a papist. However, if he was the person to whom Bishop Hall addressed the fifth Epistle of the third Decade, (Works, vol. vii, p. 184.) his religious notions seem to have been once very unsettled. As his high and immoderate zeal for the church of England made him a great enemy to all the sectaries, so in order to remove himself as far as he could from these, he countenanced and introduced some ceremonies, which too much resembled those in the church of Rome; and which he pressed with as much vigour as if they were essentials of religion. This was his very great foible. From his diary he seems also to have been in some respects very superstitious. His virtue consisted perhaps more in the severity of his manners, and an abstinence from pleasure, than in any real affections of benevolence or a true goodness of heart. Nothing could equal his resolution, but his zeal for the king and the hierarchy: and in obeying the impulse of that zeal, he trusted entirely to his good intentions, without any regard to prudence or politeness; that is, he took no care to make these intentions, appear in their best colours, nor paid any deference to the sentiments of those around him, but rested satisfied in his own integrity. He was extremely impatient of contradiction, even in the

council; nor could he debate any momentous argument with the patience and temper becoming his character. He was a great benefactor to St. John's college, Oxon. where he was educated: he enriched it with a variety of valuable MSS. in Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldaic, Ægyptian, Æthiopian, Armenian, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Saxon, English, Irish. These MSS. were purchased at a prodigious expence. He gave, besides, £500. in money to his college. He founded an Arabic Lecture in the university of Oxford; settled the impropriation of Cuddesden on the see of Oxford; annexed *commendams* to several other bishoprics; obtained the advowson of the living of St. Laurence in Reading, for St. John's college, Oxon.; procured a charter for Reading, his native place, and founded and endowed an hospital in that town with £200. a year. Oxford also owed to his influence a large charter, confirming its ancient, and investing it with new privileges. He expended large sums in the repairs and rebuilding of St. Paul's cathedral, and left several other legacies. It is but justice to his memory to record these acts of munificence and public utility. But with all his virtues and accomplishments which his most partial friends have attributed to him, it must be allowed that he was very unfit for either of the stations which he filled

in church and state, especially in such turbulent times, and under such a monarch as Charles I.*

About the latter end of January, 1644-5, a treaty of peace between the king and parliament was entered upon at Uxbridge by commissioners. The parliament commissioners proposed, with respect to religion, "that a bill should be passed for abolishing episcopacy—for confirming the ordinance for calling the assembly of divines—that the *Directory* and the presbyterian government be confirmed—that his Majesty shall take the *solemn league and covenant*—and that an act should be passed to enjoin it to be taken by all subjects in the three kingdoms."† After many disputes and much time spent, his Majesty's commissioners consented to these particulars—"that the penal laws enjoining ceremonies shall be suspended, and every body left to their own freedom—that the bishops shall exercise no act of jurisdiction or ordination, without the consent of a council of presbyters, to be chosen out of the diocese—that the bishop shall constantly reside in his diocese, except when required to attend his Majesty on any occasion, and if not hindered by

* Warner's Eccles. Hist. of England, vol. ii, pp. 565-567.
Goadby's Brit. Biog. vol. iv, p. 289.

† Dugdale's View of the Troubles in England, p. 766.

sickness, preach every Sunday—that great care shall be taken in conferring holy orders: about the sufficiency and other qualifications of the candidates—that a competent maintenance shall be provided by act of parliament for vicarages belonging to bishops, deans and chapters, out of the impropriations—that no man for the future shall have two benefices with cure of souls—that an hundred thousand pounds shall be raised out of the lands belonging to bishops, deans, and chapters, towards settling the public peace—and that visitations, fees of ecclesiastical courts, and abuses in spiritual jurisdiction, shall be regulated by parliament.” But these great concessions at this time from his Majesty made no impression; and the parliament commissioners having no liberty to relax a tittle from their demands, the treaty came to nothing.

Before the parliament and the assembly of divines had made up their minds about adopting the presbyterian mode of church government, Bishop Hall tendered “*a Modest Offer of some Considerations to the Learned Prolocutor, and to the rest of the Assembly of Divines met at Westminster,*” * in which the good bishop shewed him-

* Dr. William Twisse, vicar of Newbery, was then the Prolocutor—He died July 20, 1646. He was allowed to be a person of extensive knowledge, modest, humble, and religious.

self still a champion in advocating episcopacy, and strongly recommended them seriously to consider the advantages, expediency, antiquity, and universality of episcopacy, its ancient establishment in this country, its incorporating and enwovening itself into the very municipal laws of the land, and the difficulty of utterly removing it without a total change in the whole body of our laws. The bishop also very ably pointed out the intrinsic value of episcopal government. This tract is dated Sept. 12, 1644, and signed *Philalethes Hirenæus*, or, *A Lover of Truth and Peace*. *

It does not appear that this excellent treatise of Bishop Hall made any successful impression upon the assembly; for, when the presbyterian government was judged to be *jus divinum*, there could afterwards be no chance for episcopacy to be retained.

The *directory* was no sooner established after abolishing the liturgy, and the presbyterian form of church government adopted in the room of episcopacy, than the presbyterians and independents, who agreed in the subversion of the church, differed and quarrelled about the *divine institution of presbyterianism*. The independents being joined by the Erastians in this dispute, and having the

* Bishop Hall's Works, vol. ix, p. 773.

army on their side, compelled the presbyterians to give way in the point of coercive power, which they had hitherto grasped at with all their might.

If the leading presbyterian divines had come to an accommodation with the independents about a limited toleration, they would probably have prevented the disputes between the parliament and the army, which at length proved the ruin of both.

After the battle of Naseby, the king's affairs declined rapidly. His Majesty, in the beginning of November, 1645, returned to Oxford, when his adherents gave him some hopes that peace might be obtained, provided he would consent to the abolition of episcopacy, and make some other concessions. Though his Majesty then was willing to yield to the emergency of things, yet he could not be prevailed upon to give up the church. The circumstances of his Majesty being now reduced to such extremities, he thought proper to deliver himself up, May 5, 1646, to the hands of the Scots, then besieging Newark. His Majesty probably expected that the Scots would have joined with him, and employed their forces to obtain peace; and, if his Majesty would have submitted to embrace presbyterianism, and taken the *covenant*, they would have joined him, and acknowledged him as their sovereign.

When his Majesty was entreated to establish presbyterianism in both kingdoms, and to take the covenant, he declared that, though he was willing the Scots should enjoy their own discipline, he was obliged by conscience and in honour to support episcopacy in England, because it had been established from the reformation; and that he was bound by his coronation oath to uphold it. In order to endeavour to make his Majesty a convert to presbyterianism, the Scots employed The Rev. Alex. Henderson of Edinburgh, to enter into a debate with the king respecting these points. The debate was carried on in writing; and it is said that the king was much too hard for his opponent in argument, so that he soon afterwards died of grief, and heart broken.* Bishop Burnet speaking of the king's superiority in this controversy, says, "Had his Majesty's arms been as strong as his reason was, he had been every way unconquerable, since none have the disingenuity to deny the great advantage his Majesty had in all these writings; and this was when the help of his chaplains could not be suspected, they being far from him; and that the king drew with his own hand all his papers without the help of any,

* Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. v, p. 31.

is averred by the person who alone was privy to the interchanging of them—that worthy and accomplished gentleman, Robert Murray.”*

His Majesty proposed to admit the establishment of episcopacy and presbyterianism, in order to destroy the influence of the independents and the other sectaries. He declared that he would be content to restrain episcopal government to the dioceses of Oxford, Winchester, Bath and Wells, and Exeter, leaving all the rest of England to the presbyterian discipline:† but the Scots would abate nothing with regard to religion, and so they shortly afterwards placed his Majesty in the hands of the parliament. The king being now the prisoner of the presbyterians, as they had a majority in the house of commons, they might have made their own terms with his Majesty; but they were still so enchanted with the “*beauties of covenant uniformity, and the divine right of their presbytery*,” which ultimately the parliament would not allow in its full extent. His Majesty very sagaciously endeavoured to take advantage of the divisions between the *presbyterian* and *independent* parties, by favouring the latter, and

* Bishop Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 277, fol. ed. 1677.

† *Duke of Hamilton's Memoirs*, pp. 286, 287. Rushworth, p. 328.

promising some of them valuable compensations for any services they should do him; and intimating to them that it was not possible for them to obtain relief in their scruples, from those who were persuaded they were erecting the kingdom of Christ. However, though the independents were enemies to the presbyterian discipline, they would not trust the king.

England was now divided, instead of so many dioceses, into a certain number of provinces, made up from the several classes within their boundaries. Every parish had a congregational, or parochial presbytery, for the affairs of the parish. The parochial presbyteries were combined into classes, and these chose representatives for the provincial, as the provincial did for the national assembly: but, though this presbyterian model was thus settled and erected in the room of episcopal government, there never was a provincial assembly, except in London and Lancashire; the parliament never heartily approved of it, and the influence and interest by which it was supported, soon afterwards became ineffectual.*

* Warner's Eccles. Hist. of England, vol. ii, pp. 568, 569. Dr. Walker, in his Sufferings of the Clergy, part i, pp. 36, 37, calls the Presbyterian discipline, "*that golden idol*, to which they had offered so many human sacrifices, of which an imperfect image was raised at last, and stood (where it ought not)

The officers of the army, Sir Thomas Fairfax, general, and Oliver Cromwell, lieutenant-general, were of the party of the independents, and disliked the presbyterian model, as more tyrannical than the episcopal. Having but few preachers or chaplains in the army, the officers undertook to preach and to pray publicly to the troops; and even the common soldiers not only prayed and preached publicly among themselves, but also mounted the pulpits in all the churches where they happened to be quartered, and harangued the people with great fervour and zeal. This enthusiastic spirit diffused itself like a pestilence: it was caught by all ranks of men, and even the women "would not restrain the Spirit." "It was pleaded," says Neal, "in excuse for this practice, that a *gifted brother* had better preach and pray to the people than nobody; but now learning, good sense, and the rational interpretation of scripture, began to be cried down, and every bold pretender to inspiration was preferred to the most grave and sober divines of the age; some

in the place of the church." And (ibid, p. 41.) the same writer says, "Thus fell episcopacy, the only government of the christian church, from the days of the Apostles, before the lame and imperfect pattern of Scots Presbytery—the ark of God, (to increase our misery beyond that of God's church among the Jews, in one of its greatest calamities) before an headless and handless Dagon."

advanced themselves into the rank of prophets, and others uttered all such crude and undigested absurdities as came first into their minds, calling them the dictates of the Spirit within them; by which the public peace was frequently disturbed, and great numbers of ignorant people led into the belief of the most dangerous errors." *

At the close of the year 1646, both church and state were in the utmost disorder and confusion, and continued so more or less till the restoration in 1660. Bishop Hall, feelingly lamenting the deplorable state of the country, thus speaks: "Was there ever a more fearful example of divine vengeance against any nation, than to be armed against each other to their mutual destruction? that christian compatriots, brethren, should pour out each other's blood like water in our streets, and leave their mangled carcasses for compost in our fields? that none but the sharper sword should be left to be the arbiter of our deadly differences? that fathers and sons should so put off all natural affection, as to think it no violation of piety to cut the throats of each other? Oh! that we had lived to see the woeful havoc, that the

* Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iii, pp. 339, 340. The Rev. Thomas Edwards, Minister of Christ Church, London, a rigid presbyterian, rendered himself notorious at this time for a rancorous and furious book, intitled *Gangræna*, 4to, in 3 parts, against the Sectaries of this period.

hellish fury of war hath made, every where, in this flourishing and populous island; the flames of hostile fury rising up in our towns and cities; the devastation of our fruitful and pleasant villages; the demolition of our magnificent structures; the spoils and ruins of those fabrics that should be sacred; in a word, this goodly land, for a great part of it, turned to a very Golgotha and Acedema!"*

The parliament, after the Scots consented to deliver up the king, appointed commissioners to convey his Majesty to Holmby-house in Northamptonshire, Feb. 1646--7. He was treated with some respect, but his trusty servants were not allowed to attend him; and it was not even permitted to him to have any of his own chaplains to assist him in his devotions, though he earnestly desired to have any two out of thirteen, which he nominated, to attend him. This was refused him; and two presbyterian ministers were ordered to officiate in the chapel; but his Majesty never gave his attendance, and so was compelled to be his own chaplain, using the liturgical service of the church in his own chamber. †

* Works, vol. v, p. 563.

† Clarendon, vol. iii, p. 39. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iii, p. 335.

CHAPTER IX.

THE army had hitherto acted in subordination to the parliament; but now, the war being over, and the king a prisoner, they were unwilling to be entirely at the disposal of the parliament, and to submit to presbyterian uniformity. The army consisted chiefly of independents, few presbyterians, anabaptists, and men of unsettled religious principles. They however consented that presbyterianism should be the established religion, but insisted on a toleration of all sects and parties. The disposition of the presbyterians was to persecute and harass every sect with as much severity and bitterness as they did the church. The presbyterians thought that through their superior influence in both houses, they should be able to get the better of the army: they came therefore to a resolution of seizing the person of Cromwell, whose dissimulation and hypocrisy were now evident; but he, having notice of their design the night before, made his escape to the army. At

the same time, the army, by the advice and direction of Cromwell, took the king by force from the custody of the parliament at Holmby-house, and conveyed him to the head quarters at Newmarket. His Majesty now met with some kind treatment and respect. Many of his friends had free access to him; and four of his chaplains, viz. Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Morley, Dr. Saunderson, and Dr. Hammond, were permitted to attend him.

The king being now in the possession of the army, they therefore began to be more contumacious with the parliament; and Cromwell, on this occasion said, that "now he had got the king into his hands, he had the parliament in his pocket."* The army made liberty of conscience their *great charter*, and till they obtained it, they resolved not to lay down their arms: they had fought the battles of the parliament, and so considered it unreasonable to be told that except they would conform with the presbyterian discipline, they should be persecuted and punished as sectaries, and driven out of the land. In order to prevent this, they treated with the king, and offered him much better terms, and behaved towards him with much more courtesy, than he ever met with

* Rushworth, p. 545, 549. Neal, vol. iii, p. 369.

from the parliament. But his Majesty was afraid to trust them. And besides, we are told that he had adopted a maxim, from which his best friends could not dissuade him, viz. that it was in his power to turn the scale, and that the party must sink which he abandoned. This, together with some insincerity, which he practised towards Cromwell and Ireton, who themselves were not sincere in their treaty with him, proved the ruin of Charles I. and which, it is said, he repented of when too late.*

His Majesty, thinking that some design was intended to murder him, escaped from the army, intending to cross the sea, but was secured in Carisbrook Castle in the Isle of Wight. The public tranquillity was now in a very precarious situation, as there was a general distrust and suspicion on all sides, and every party resolved to carry their point without any abatement. The king continued resolute in adhering to the constitution of church and state. The Scots and English presbyterians, though divided in some political points, thought themselves bound to stand by *the solemn league and covenant*; and the army was under an *engagement* to agree with neither without a *toleration*. If his Majesty would have submitted

* Warner's Eccles. Hist. of Eng. vol. ii, p. 570. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iii, p. 379.

to *covenant uniformity*, the presbyterians might have restored him: or, if the king or parliament would have declared for a *toleration*, peace might have been restored by military force. But so it was, that such terms of accommodation as could reconcile such opposite and clashing interests could not now be contrived at this time.

When the king was with the army in some state of honor, want and misery obliged many thousands of the parochial clergy to present a petition to his Majesty, July 17, 1647, stating "that whereas they had a long time been destitute of all livelihood, by means of sequestration of their estates, and other losses, and "then" driven to extreme necessities, how to provide for themselves and their families; and the season, "then" approaching for the receiving the benefits of the harvest, before which time, if some charitable course be not taken, they were like to starve or beg another year, "and therefore praying his Majesty to take their sad condition into his gracious consideration and care, that some speedy course might be taken to preserve them alive," &c.

To this petition the king returned a gracious answer, though he was then so circumstanced, as being hardly capable of doing any service to the suffering clergy: he however recommended their distressed case to the general, and told them

"how deeply sensible he was of their condition, and desired them to rest assured, that whatsoever was in his power for their relief, should not be wanting ; but for the present, all that he could do, was to recommend the petition to the general and commanders of the army." They therefore petitioned in form the general, Sir Thomas Fairfax, who received their petition respectfully, and proposed to the parliament that the estates of all sequestered persons, including the clergy, should remain in the hands of the tenants till a general peace. Upon which some of the clergy made attempts to recover their benefices, and dispossess the intruders. But this turned out to their disadvantage, and caused them new troubles. At that juncture, when the army and the parliament had been for some time at variance, the distressed clergy had some hopes of redress: but when the differences were now nearly compromised, all their expectations were entirely cut off.

Aug. 12, 1647, the presbyterian ministers petitioned the general, complaining "that divers *delinquent* ministers, who had been put out of their livings, did now trouble, and seek to turn out those ministers, whom the parliament had put in, &c." Sir Thomas Fairfax and the parliament disapproved of these proceedings ; and an ordinance was passed that those *delinquent* ministers and others, who would trouble or molest the

ministers put into livings by the parliament, should be punished."*

When the university of Oxford fell into the hands of the parliament, they ordered a visitation of it, in order to make the colleges to take the *covenant*, so as to reduce them to obedience. But the university, which had continued firm in its loyalty to the king, passed a public act and declaration against the *covenant*, and refused to submit to the authority of the visitors, till they were subdued and compelled by a military force.†

The parliament, having been strengthened by the return of some presbyterian members, who either had absconded, or deserted their stations, when the army was in the neighbourhood, now resumed their courage. Though the independents had persisted in requiring an unlimited toleration, the presbyterians at this time took an opportunity of discovering their principles, by passing a most cruel ordinance against sects and heretics. It was ordained that all persons, who should main-

* Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i, pp. 145, 146. Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iii, pp. 392, 393.

† See a full and particular account of the visitation of the University of Oxford by the Parliament, in Clarendon's *Hist. of the Rebellion*, vol. iii, b. x, p. 73, &c. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i, pp. 122--144. Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iii, pp. 395--438. See in the appendix to this vol. *Rustica Academicæ Oxoniensis nuper reformatæ descriptio*, by Dr. Alibone, a very curious satyrical piece.

tain, publish, or defend, by preaching or writing, the heresies which were after mentioned, with obstinacy, should be committed to prison without bail till the next gaol delivery; and if the indictment should then be found, and the party not abjure, he should suffer death as a felon. This was intituled an *ordinance against blasphemy and Heresy*, and was dated May 2, 1648. This single Ordinance is sufficient to shew, that the presbyterians would have made a dreadful use of their Power, if it had been supported by the sword of the civil magistrate.*

The king was kept a close prisoner in Carisbrook Castle; but, in consequence of a secret treaty with the Scots, an army was raising in that Kingdom to join the royalists in England, in order to rescue the king from his confinement. This circumstance caused another dreadful civil war, and hastened the horrible catastrophe of his Majesty. In this calamitous state of affairs, no hope seemed to be left to the parliament but to treat with the king. Therefore a treaty was held with his Majesty at Newport in the Isle of Wight, during the months of September, October, and November, 1648. Before the treaty began, the commissioners from the parliament informed his Majesty, that they could not permit any other

* Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iii, p. 458. Warner's Eccles. Hist. of England, vol. ii, p. 571.

persons besides himself to confer with them respecting their demands; and all the help he could obtain from the bishops and divines, who had been allowed to attend upon him, was, that they might stand behind a curtain, and upon any point of difficulty, his Majesty might retire to his chamber for their advice.* This was the unreasonable preliminary, to which the king was obliged to submit, before the treaty commenced: and afterwards he saw that the commissioners could not, or would not, relax any point whatever in what they had to propose. Wherefore, to shorten the negotiation, and to let the parliament know how far his Majesty could comply with their demands, he sent a message to explain his intentions. With regard to religion he made the following concessions: viz. That the assembly of divines at Westminster may be confirmed for

* Neal says, that "several noblemen, gentlemen, divines, and lawyers, were appointed to assist him in the treaty, who *were to stand behind his Majesty's chair* and hear the debates, *but not to speak*, except when the king withdrew into another room for their advice; the names of his divines were Dr. Juxon, bishop of London, Dr. Duppa, bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Oldisworth, Dr. Saunderson, Dr. Turner, Dr. Haywood: and towards the end of the treaty Dr. Usher, archbishop of Armagh, Dr. Bramhall, Dr. Prideux, Dr. Warner, Dr. Ferne, and Dr. Morley: Dr. Brownrigge, bishop of Exeter, was also sent for, but he was under restraint. And Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Oldisworth, being also under restraint, were not permitted to stand." Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iii, p. 462.

three years, and the *directory*, and presbyterian government continue for the same period; provided that neither himself, nor his adherents, should be obliged to conform to it—that during that period, a consultation should be had with the assembly, and with twenty divines of his own nomination, to determine upon a form of government to be established afterwards in the church, with a provision for the ease of tender consciences—that his Majesty would consent that legal estates for lives, or for a term of years, not exceeding ninety-nine, might be made from the lands and revenues of bishops, for the satisfaction of those who have purchased them; provided that the inheritance may still remain in the church, and the residue be reserved for their maintenance. These, with some other concessions of less importance, his Majesty delivered to the commissioners as his final answer. In conclusion, his Majesty challenged the parliament divines, who were assistants to the commissioners, to shew, that either there is no form of church government prescribed in scripture; or, if there be, that the civil power may alter it as they see cause; or, if it was unchangeable, that it was not episcopal; and till this was done, he should think himself excusable for not consenting to the abolition of that church government, which he found settled at his coronation, which is so ancient, has been so

universally received in the christian world, confirmed by so many acts of parliament, and been subscribed by all the clergy of the church of England. But the presbyterian divines did not think fit to enter on this debate.

The parliament spent several days in deliberating on the above concessions of his Majesty, and at last voted them unsatisfactory with regard to episcopacy. The king made some further concessions, which were not approved of. The time of the treaty was prolonged, and some new propositions made to the king. At last, there being but one day left to determine the fate of the whole kingdom, the commissioners pressed his Majesty to satisfy the demands of the parliament. His own council, and his divines, besought him to consider the safety of his person for the sake of the church and people; because they had some hope still left, whilst his Majesty was preserved, that they should enjoy many blessings; whereas if he was destroyed, there was scarce a possibility to preserve them:—that, upon the best judgment they could make, the order, which his Majesty endeavoured to preserve with so much zeal and piety, was much more likely to be ruined by his not complying, than by his suspending it till a future government could be settled. The mind of the unhappy king was much distressed on account of these considerations, so that he told the commissioners, “ that

after the condescensions he had already made in the business of the church, he had expected not to be further pressed : it being his judgment and his conscience. He could not consent to abolish episcopacy out of the church." *

This treaty, in the end, proved unsuccessful in promoting the peace of the country ; and a short time before its conclusion, the army had sent a remonstrance to the parliament to express their *high dissatisfaction* with the treaty, because no provision was made for liberty of conscience and toleration. This remonstrance of the army plainly discovered the intentions of the independents, to blow up the constitution, and to bury the king, episcopacy, and presbytery in its ruins. In a kind of despair, and under the influence of a *religious phrenzy*, the army entered upon the most desperate measures, resolving to take the SOVEREIGN POWER into their own hands—to bring the king to *justice*—to set aside the *covenant*—and to change the government into a common-wealth. In order to accomplish these horrible resolutions, the *remonstrance* was presented to the parliament, Nov. 20, 1648. It was accompanied with many petitions from different parts of the kingdom, tending to the same purpose. The parliament, upon this, was struck with the

* Warner's Eccles. Hist. of England, vol. ii, p. 572, &c.

utmost consternation, and, though a few days before voted the king's concessions unsatisfactory, again took his answer into consideration; and after a violent debate for three days, it was carried by a majority of forty-two, that his Majesty's concessions were a sufficient foundation for the houses to proceed upon in the settlement of the kingdom: but it was then too late. The army had now secured the person of the king, and he was conveyed by a party of horse to Hurst Castle, where he continued till he was conducted to Windsor in order to his trial. The general had marched the army to London; and the next day the presbyterian members were excluded from the house by a military force; and the independent members, who were admitted, voted the king's answer to the propositions not satisfactory. The question now was, what was next to be done? It was high time to settle some form of government, under which the nation was to live. So in order to gain popularity, they declared that parliament should be dissolved on the last day of April following: and that in the mean time they would bring those delinquents to justice, who had disturbed the peace of the kingdom, and put it to such an expence of blood and treasure. But the height of all iniquity and fanatical extravagance yet remained to be acted: it was determined to impeach the king *of high treason*, as having been the cause of all the blood

spilt during the rebellion. The sovereign was tried and executed by a set of desperate officers of the army, and their dependents.* There was nothing in the common or statute law which could direct or warrant this iniquitous proceeding, they therefore made a new form never before heard of—“*An high court of justice to try his Majesty for high treason in levying war against his parliament.*”† He fell a sacrifice to the rage and enthusiasm of the fanatic leaders of the army, who, proceeding from one licentiousness to another, had arrived at an implacable, republican, virulent spirit, regardless of all laws, divine and human. The particulars of the murder of King Charles I. on the 30th of Jan. 1648--9, and his character, need not here be related; they are so fully narrated by Lord Clarendon, Dugdale, and other historians.‡

* They have been described as a “swarm of *armed* enthusiasts, who outwitted the patriots, out-prayed the puritans, and out-fought the cavaliers.” Bishop Warburton’s Sermon before the House of Lords, Jan. 30, 1760.

† Clarendon’s Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. iii, b. xi, p. 244.

‡ See a very interesting character of King Charles I. in Warner’s Eccles. Hist. of England, vol. ii, pp. 574--577: but the excellent and pious Bishop Horne, in his sermon intitled THE CHRISTIAN KING, has given us a very striking and interesting view of the character of Charles I. as a KING, a CHRISTIAN, and a MARTYR. See Bishop Horne’s Works, vol. iii, p. 398.

CHAPTER X.

THE constitution, having been so much mutilated and reduced in the progress of the rebellion, at the execution of the king was totally dissolved. The small remains of an house of commons prohibited the proclaiming of the Prince of Wales, or any other person whatsoever, under the pain of high treason, and voted the house of lords to be useless, and the office of a king dangerous to the state. The oaths of allegiance and supremacy were abolished, and a new one, called *the engagement*, was appointed, by which all persons who held any place or office in church or state, were required to swear, "that they would be true and faithful to the government established, without king, or house of peers." The form of government for the future, was declared to be a free commonwealth, of which the executive power was to be lodged in the hands of a council of state of about forty persons, any nine of whom were to take care of the administration for one

year. Such was the foundation of this new government, which neither had the consent of the nation, nor their representatives in parliament. The parliament, as it was, consisted only of about eighty members, all of them independents. And these few members voted the exclusion of all the other members, unless they took the *engagement*. A licentious, republican, and fanatic army, which had spread an universal terror, had got this extraordinary and excessive power to this parliament, which, consisting of so inconsiderable a number of members, obtained in derision the appellation of the *rump parliament*. *

The *Independent* interest, by means of the army, now prevailed in and over the parliament: not only the loyal clergy began to suffer afresh "under a new set of tyrants," but even the presbyterians "became *fellow-sufferers*, and were involved in one common calamity, with those many thousands of ruined loyalists, over whom they had themselves for such a long course of years, lorded it with so much rigour and cruelty." †

* Walker, the author of the *History of Independency*, first gave them this name, in allusion to a *fowl*, all devoured but the *rump*. They were also compared to a man who would never cease to whet and whet his knife, till there was no steel left to make it useful. Dr. Grey and Rapin.

† Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i, p. 146.

It is not necessary in this work to enter fully into the measures which were taken for settling this usurped government. In such a time of universal confusion, the transactions which concerned then the church and state ought rather to be razed out of the page of history, than particularly related, lest the success of so much villany, dissimulation, and enthusiasm, should in after ages encourage the same horrible and iniquitous factions against the established constitution of church and state.

Now every man was at liberty to profess any principles of religion, and to teach what he professed. Bishop Hall in these distracted times, speaking of those who *cause divisions*, says, “they have much to answer for to the God of peace and unity, who are so much addicted to their own conceits, and so indulgent to their own interest, as to raise and maintain new doctrines, and to set up new sects in the church of Christ, varying from the common and received truths; labouring to draw disciples after them, to the great distraction of souls, and scandal of christianity: with which sort of disturbers I must needs say this age, into which we are fallen, hath been and is, above all that have gone before us, most miserably pestered: what good soul can be other than confounded, to hear of and see more *than a hundred and four score* new, and some of them dangerous and blas-

phemous opinions, broached and defended in one, once famous and unanimous church of Christ? Who can say other, upon the view of these wild thoughts, than Gerson said long since, that the world, now grown old, is full of doting fancies; if not rather, that the world, now near his end, raves and talks nothing but fancies and frenzies? How arbitrary soever these self-willed fanatics may think it, to take to themselves this liberty of thinking what they list, and venting what they think, the blessed Apostle hath long since branded them with a heavy sentence: *Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which you have learned, and avoid them: for they that are such, serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly; and by good words and fair speeches, deceive the hearts of the simple.* Rom. xvi, 17, 18." Again, our author justly lamenting the manifold and grievous *distractions* of the church of Christ when both in judgment and affection, says, "Woe is me, into how many thousand pieces is the seamless coat of our Saviour rent! Yea, into what numberless atoms, is the precious body of Christ torn and minced! There are more religions than nations upon earth; and in each religion, as many different conceits, as men. If St. Paul, when his Corinthians did but say, *I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am of Cephas*, could ask,

Is Christ divided? (1 Cor. i, 12, 13.) when there was only an emulatory magnifying of their own teachers, though agreeing and orthodox; what, think we, would he now say, if he saw a hundred of sect-masters and heresiarchs, some of them opposite to other, all to the truth, applauded by their credulous and divided followers, all of them claiming Christ for theirs, and denying him to their gainsayers? Would he not ask, “*Is Christ multiplied? Is Christ subdivided? Is Christ shred into infinites?*” O God! what is become of christianity? How do evil spirits and men labour to destroy that creed, which we have always constantly professed! For if we set up more Christs, where is that one? And if we give way to these infinite distractions, where is the communion of saints?”*

The churches and pulpits were now open to all sorts of people, who would wish to display their gifts of praying and preaching there. A general distraction and confusion in religion overspread the whole kingdom. An ingenious, elegant, and pious living author thus describes the state of religion then in England; “During the time of the *interregnum*, the prevailing sentiments in religion had been of a very singular, not to say of a

* Bishop Hall's Works, vol. viii, pp. 241, 244.

very extravagant nature. The doctrines of revelation were disjoined from its precepts, so that one half of the bible became useless, except, perhaps, in the hands of an unusually skilful allegorizer, who had the art of extracting a speculative theorem from the most practical command. The language even of secular intercourse was modelled upon that of the received translation of the sacred volume. The most unchristian acts were described in the most christian terms. Men thought themselves religious, if they used the language of the Bible, how flagrantly soever they might oppose its spirit. He who could give to a text the most fanciful twist, the most recondite allusion, was esteemed the ablest divine. The union of a sound Creed with an irreligious life, of a clear insight into revelation with a neglect of all its duties, became alarmingly common; so that hypocrisy and the most vulgar affectation were every where apparent.*

There is nothing which can give a better idea of the total dissolution of all principles of order and moral rectitude at that time, than the act which was then passed against blasphemous, atheistical, and execrable opinions. In the preamble of this act, it appears that there were then

* Wilks' Christian Essays, vol. i, p. 21.

persons, who professed, that all sorts of iniquity were "in their own nature as holy and righteous as the duties of prayer, preaching, or giving thanks to God; that happiness consisted in the commission of such crimes; and that there was really no such thing as heaven or hell, nor any unrighteousness or sin independent of conscience and opinion." Miserable and distracted indeed was the state of religion at this time in England; "when the church was defaced and overspread with errors and blasphemies, defiled with abominations, rent in pieces with divisions, and so swallowed up in confusion and disorder."*

The *engagement*, which might be properly called the *Independent covenant*, as it was intended to supersede the *solemn league and covenant* of the presbyterians, was appointed to be taken by all civil, ecclesiastical, and military officers whatsoever, on pain of forfeiting their several offices, and was now referred to a committee, in order that the whole kingdom should take it. A bill was therefore passed in the beginning of the year 1650, to exclude from the benefit of the law, and to disable from sueing in any court of law or equity, every person of the age of eighteen and upwards,

* Warner's Eccles. Hist. of England, vol. ii, p. 579.

who should refuse to take and subscribe the *engagement*. The presbyterian ministers, though they enforced the *covenant* in as arbitrary a manner, yet when it came now to their turn to suffer, could perceive the iniquity of such a violence done to law and conscience. They inveighed bitterly in their sermons against *the engagement*, and refused to observe the days of humiliation appointed by the parliament for a blessing on their arms. The body of the common people being now weary of a civil war, and willing to live quiet under any government, submitted to the engagement. Many of the presbyterian ministers, however, chose rather to relinquish their preferments in the church and universities, than comply.

The parliament tried several methods to reconcile them to the present administration; but when they found it was all in vain, an order was published, that ministers in the pulpits should not meddle with state affairs. The famous Milton was then appointed to write for the commonwealth, who severely and satirically lashed every party adverse to the measures of the new administration. An act was also passed to sequester from ecclesiastical preferments all, who vilified and aspersed in the pulpit the authority of parliament.

A declaration was also published complaining

of the revolt of English and Scots presbyterians to the enemy, because the discipline of the parliament was not the exact standard of reformation. The parliament did all they could to satisfy them: they determined that all the ordinances for the promoting a reformation of religion, in doctrine, discipline and worship, should continue in full force; and that the government in the church should be the presbyterian. They ordered the lands belonging to deans and chapters to be sold: and the bishop's lands, which had been sequestered, were vested by an ordinance in the hands of new trustees, and appropriated to the augmentation of small livings. The first-fruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical promotions, formerly payable to the crown, were vested in the same hands, free from all incumbrances, on trust, that they should pay yearly all such salaries and stipends as had been settled and confirmed in parliament; provided the assignment to any one did not exceed an hundred pounds. The commissioners of the great seal were empowered to enquire into the yearly value of all ecclesiastical livings to which any cure of souls was annexed, that some course might be taken for providing a better maintenance where it was wanting, and that the salary of no incumbent should be less than one hundred pounds a year. A part also of the money arising from the sale of the bishops' lands, and those of

the deans and chapters,* was appropriated for the support and maintenance of the bishops, and members of the cathedrals, who were deprived of their promotions and dignities. Such regulations were laudable, if they were effectually put in practice: but still the pulpit and the press sounded high the discontents both of the royalists and presbyterians. An ordinance was therefore published, to put the press entirely under the direction of the parliament; and the monthly fast, which had subsisted above seven years, and had been, in a great measure, a fast for strife and debate, was abrogated by another ordinance, that there might be no censures published on the present government.

Remote parts of the kingdom, as North and

* The money raised by the sale of those lands amounted to a large sum. The return of the value of the lands, contracted for to Aug. 29, 1650, made to the committee for the sale of them, fixed it at the sum of £948,409, 18s. 2½d. of which, on Aug. 31, the total of the purchasers' acquittances amounted to £658,501, 2s. 9d. See Dr. Grey's Exam. of Neal, vol. iii, Appendix, p. 18. Dr. Walker says in his *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 14, that the value of bishops' lands forfeited and sold amounted to a million of money. "The revenues allotted to the support of cathedrals and their appendages, were seized with a view to augment the smaller livings. But mark the event: when the estates were sold, the presbyterian ministers, who had taken possession of the livings, and expected the augmentation, were told, to their utter astonishment, that the money was wanted to support public credit. It was wanted, and it was applied accordingly." Bp. Horne's Works, vol. iv, p. 41.

South Wales, had not as yet experienced the effects of *the reformation*, which had been carried on since the commencement of the long parliament. The clergy of those parts had not as yet suffered with the rest of their brethren; but the parliament at last made them to compensate for the delay of their sufferings. Feb. 22, 1649--50, an Act was passed for the better propagation, and preaching of the gospel in Wales, for ejecting scandalous ministers and schoolmasters, and redress of some grievances; it was to continue in force for three years. Dr. Walker, in his "Sufferings of the Clergy," has given a full and curious, though perhaps rather exaggerated account of the propagation of the gospel in Wales by the missionaries of the commonwealth; to which account the author refers his readers.

About this time we are to date the rise of the people called Quakers, from George Fox, born at Drayton in Lancashire, and bred a shoemaker. He pretended that all the qualifications necessary for ministers were the anointing of the Spirit, "that people should receive the inward divine teachings of the LORD, and take that for their rule." He apprehended the LORD had forbid him to put off his hat to any one, and that he was to speak to the people without distinction, in the language of *thee* and *thou*, &c. In such peculiarities many of the enthusiasts of this time concurred; and

George Fox had soon a great number of followers. Whenever he spoke in public, it was with convulsive agitations and shakings of the body, asserting it to be the character of a good man to tremble before God. Hence the name of Quakers is given to these people. If they had at first any other design than to gratify an enthusiastic spirit which was then so prevalent, it was to reduce all revealed religion to allegory, and to extirpate all order, ceremony, and rite out of divine service, leaving every thing to the impulse of their own spirit. Their public meetings were occasional, at which one or other spoke, as they were moved from within; sometimes they departed without any one being moved to speak at all. They denied the scriptures to be the only rule of faith, and maintained that every man had a light within himself, which was a very sufficient rule. They were great disturbers of the public religion at that time; but now they are become an inoffensive, benevolent, and respectable denomination.*

During these transactions in England, the young king, Charles II. was crowned in Scotland. This occasioned a war between the two nations. The king entered England at the head of an army, and being proclaimed in several places, was

* For a full and interesting account of the principles of the Quakers, see Clarkson's *Portaiture of Quakerism*, 3 vols. 8vo.

defeated by Cromwell at the battle of Worcester, Sept. 3, 1651. His Majesty providentially escaped, and passed over into France.

The war being over, the parliament therefore intended to reduce the army; but, in this case, Cromwell could easily discern that this would prove his ruin, by disarming him of his power, and by reducing him from a general to the condition of a private gentleman. Upon this, he judged that there was no other way of maintaining his power than to make himself master of the parliament, by means of his council of officers in the army. The officers, therefore, combined together, and would not suffer any change to be made in the army, till the arrears of their pay were fully paid. They reminded the house of commons how many years they had sat, to the exclusion of others, who ought to have a share in the government of their country; and then recommended them to settle a new council of state for the present administration of affairs, to summon a new parliament and dissolve themselves. But the house, instead of taking this advice, at which being much irritated, appointed a committee to prepare a bill immediately, to make it high treason for any one to present any more such petitions. This precisely was what Cromwell looked for. Being sure that the parliament were as odious to the nation, as they were disagreeable to the army, he went to

the house with some officers and a file of musketeers, on the 20th of April, 1653, and without any ceremony told the members, that he came to put an end to their power, of which they had made an ill use, and that they must depart immediately.

“ In this manner, did Cromwell, without the least opposition, or even murmur, annihilate that famous assembly, which had filled all Europe with the renown of its actions, and with astonishment at its crimes; and whose commencement was not more ardently desired by the people, than was its final dissolution.” *

The parliament being thus dissolved, the sovereign power was necessarily to be lodged somewhere; and Cromwell might have taken it into his own hands by the same authority as he dissolved the parliament. But it was not time yet to put his plan into execution. Cromwell brought his council of officers to a resolution, that one hundred and forty-four persons should be entrusted with the sovereign power, and be nominated by himself. † At the same time that he displayed his abilities in the choice of these persons, he seemed that he had a design in view, which, though then concealed, would in time discover

* Warner's Eccles. Hist. of England. vol. ii, p. 582.

† See a list of the persons in Dugdale's View of the Troubles in England, pp. 406--409.

itself. These persons selected to be set at the helm of the state, were no politicians, and were mostly of low and obscure birth, with no particular merit, and no experience in affairs. * Cromwell could foresee that such characters would soon grow tired, and find themselves obliged to place the government in his hands. And so every thing succeeded as he expected. This singular parliament was called in contempt *Barebone's* parliament, from a *leatherseller* of that name, † who was one of the most active members. Lord Clarendon says, that the members of this parliament “were generally a pack of weak senseless fellows, fit only to bring the name and reputation of parliaments lower than it was yet.” ‡

Having voted themselves to be called the *Par-*

* “Of these,” says Dugdale, “many were illiterate and of mean condition, divers fanatic sectaries, and of that kind the most busy and mischievous; yet here and there mixt with confiding men, and such whose interest was firmly twisted with Cromwell.” *View of the Troubles in England*, p. 409.

† There were three brothers of the family of the Barebones, each of whom had a sentence for his name, viz. *Praise God Barebone. Christ came into the world to save Barebone. And if Christ had not died, thou hadst been damned Barebone.* In this style were the christian names of very many persons formed during the Rebellion and Interregnum. It was said that the genealogy of Jesus Christ might be learnt from the names of Cromwell's regiments; and that the muster-master used no other list than the 1st chap. of St. Matthew. See Granger's *Hist. of England*, vol. iii, p. 68. Dr. Grey's *Exam. of Neal*, pp. 286, 287. Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iv, pp. 72, 73.

‡ *Hist. of the Rebellion*, vol. iii, b. 14, p. 482.

liament of England, " they vigorously fell to work for a *thorough reformation*, dreaming of nothing less, than that Jesus Christ must shortly reign with them here on earth. To prepare the way therefore to his personal coming, they considered of abolishing the ministerial function, as savouring, in their opinion, of popery. Likewise for the taking away of tithes, as the relics of judaism. Also to abrogate the old English laws, as badges of conquest and Norman slavery. And lastly to suppress the Universities, and all schools for learning, as heathenish and unnecessary, with all titles of honour and distinctions, as not agreeable to christianity. All which they had, without question, soon effected, but that some few of them, of better judgments, gave a stop to their frenzy."*

The noble historian gives us the following account of this parliament of Cromwell's nomination: " These men thus brought together continued in this capacity near six months, to the amaze-ment, and even mirth of the people. In which time they never entered into any grave and serious debate, that might tend to any settlement, but generally expressed great sharpness and animosity against the clergy, and against all learning, out of

* Dugdale's View of the Troubles in England, p. 409.

which they thought the clergy had grown, and still would grow. There were now no bishops for them to be angry with: they had already reduced all that order to the lowest distress. But their quarrel was against all who had called themselves ministers, and who, by being so called, received tithes and respect from their neighbours. They looked upon the function itself to be anti-christian, and the persons to be burdensome to the people; and the requiring, and payment of tithes, to be absolute judaism, and they thought fit that they should be abolished together. And that there might not for the time to come be any race of people who might revive those pretences, they proposed, that all lands belonging to the universities, and colleges in those universities, might be sold, and the monies that should arise thereby, be disposed for the public service, and to ease the people from the payment of taxes and contributions." *

After a session of nearly six months, little or nothing had been done, besides establishing the legal solemnization of marriage by the civil magistrate, on the 12th of December, 1653.

* Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. iii, b. 14, p. 484.

Neal, Harris, and some others say, that no such proposals were made in this parliament; but the authority of such men as Dugdale, Clarendon, and Mr. Eachard, is so respectable, that it is unjust to tax them with falsehoods.

Some of them, who were in Cromwell's secret, rose up, and said that men of their abilities were not equal to the weight of government; and therefore proposed a dissolution of themselves, and a re-delivery of their authority into the hands from which they had it. This motion was no sooner made, than approved and executed. Cromwell and his council of officers were no sooner invested with the sovereign power, than they planned a new form of government. The supreme authority should be placed in Cromwell, who should have the title of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and should be assisted by a council of one and twenty persons. The protector was installed with great magnificence, not much inferior to a coronation, on the 16th of December, 1653.

In the instrument of government drawn by the council of officers, when Cromwell was invested with the protectorship, we find the following articles respecting religion : viz. "That the christian religion, contained in the Scriptures, be held forth and recommended as the public profession of these nations; that as soon as may be, a provision less subject to contention and more certain than the present, be made for the maintenance of ministers; and that till such provision be made, the present maintenance continues. That none be compelled to conform to the public religion by

penalties or otherwise, but that endeavours be used to win them by sound doctrine, and the example of a good conversation. That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline, publicly held forth, shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession of their faith and exercise of their religion, so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts; provided this liberty be not extended to popery, nor prelacy, nor to such as, under a profession of Christ, hold forth and practise licentiousness. That all laws, statutes, and ordinances—contrary to the aforesaid liberty, shall be esteemed null and void.”*

Thus a legal toleration was granted to all errors, heresies, and sectaries whatever, and was denied to nothing *but popery, prelacy, and immorality*, which three were put upon a level.† “It was familiar,” says Dr. Walker, “with them (as in truth it was with most of the writings, sermons, discourses, orders, and resolves of parliament, and other public acts of these times) to join *popery* and *prelacy* together, and sometimes to rank it

* Dugdale, p. 416.

† Neal says, that in this respect this instrument of government was “undoubtedly faulty.” *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iv, p. 80.

with every thing else that was odious or detestable," as particularly when in Jan. 1654, "the parliament debating the point of liberty of conscience, gravely resolved to allow it to all who should not maintain Atheism, Popery, PRELACY, Profaneness, or any damnable heresy."*

Though episcopacy was totally abolished, yet the assembly of the adherents of the church were connived at: it must be allowed that the members of the church of England had at this time much more favor and indulgence than under the parliament. Several of the clergy publicly exercised their ministry, without the fetters of oaths, subscriptions, or engagements. Dr. Robert Hall, the eldest son of Bishop Hall, was permitted to keep the rectory of Clystheydon, Devon. "all the time of the usurpation, and there continued a great patron and supporter of the sequestered clergy." Dr. George Hall, another of Bishop Hall's sons, afterwards bishop of Chester, was allowed to preach towards the end of the usurpation, at St. Bartholomew's Exchange, and at St. Botolph's Aldersgate, London. When he was sequestered from his preferment in Cornwall, he would have kept a small school for his subsistence, but he was not permitted to do it. Dr. George Wilde, "during some part of the usurpation, kept up a

* Sufferings of the Clergy, part i, p. 9.

religious meeting for the loyalists in Fleet-street, where the whole service of the church of England was constantly and solemnly performed." Dr. John Pearson, afterwards bishop of Chester in 1650, was minister of St. Clement's Eastcheap, where he preached the substance of his celebrated Exposition of the Creed.* Several of the bishops, who had been kept from public services by the *covenant* and the *engagement*, preached again publicly, as Archbishop Usher, Bishop Brownrigge, and others: Bishop Hall also preached and published some sermons about this time.

Bishop Kennet is pleased to give this testimony to the liberality of Cromwell in this respect: "it is certain that the protector was for liberty, and the utmost latitude to all parties, so far as consisted with the peace and safety of his person and government; and therefore he was never jealous of any cause or sect on the account of heresy and falsehood, but on his wiser accounts of political peace and quiet: and even the prejudice he had against the episcopal party was more for their being royalists, than for being of the good old church. Dr. Gunning, afterwards bishop of Ely, kept a conventicle in London, in as open a manner as dissenters did after the

* Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, part ii, pp. 25, 26, 67, 117.

toleration; and so did several other episcopal divines." *

The time was now arrived, when, by the instrument of government, the protector was obliged to call a parliament; he accordingly issued writs, omitting many of the small boroughs and inserting large towns in their stead, and making more members for counties in proportion to their extent. This was an alteration generally expected as proper to be made with more authority, and in better times. The only restriction laid upon the election of members to this parliament, was, that none who had been in arms on the side of the king, nor their sons, should be capable of being elected. This parliament met with the usual formalities, Sept. 3, 1654; and Cromwell made them a long speech. But the commons no sooner entered upon business, than they took into consideration the form of the present government, and the authority which had convened them. This was warmly debated for eight days together, with many severe reflections upon the person of the protector. All the influence of his party could not divert the debate. Cromwell, mortified and

* Conform. Plea, part iv, p. 510. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iv, p. 137. Warner's Eccles. Hist. of England, vol. ii, p. 586. See also Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, part ii, p. 142.

exasperated exceedingly, sent for the commons to the painted chamber; and reprehending them for their freedom in debating on the instrument of government, the fundamentals of which, he said, were never to be called in question, he told them that he found it necessary to appoint a recognition of the authority by which they were made a parliament, before they went any more into the house. So when they returned, they found a guard placed at the door, denying entrance to all who would not subscribe the following recognition: "I do hereby freely promise and engage, to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and will not propose or give my consent to alter the government, as it is settled in one single person, and a parliament."

Though this was signed by about three hundred members, yet they looked upon it as a violation of the privileges of parliament; and were so far from settling his highness in the government, in the way he wished for, that after five months spent in wrangling and ill humour, the time they were required to sit according to the instrument of government, he sent for them again, and in a tedious, embarrassed, angry speech, dissolved them, without confirming any act they had passed.*

* See Dugdale's View, pp. 423-429.

Though the presbyterian discipline was now at a low ebb, it was still the established religion of the nation; but the affairs of religion at this period were in a more unsettled, distracted condition, if possible, than those of the state. The approbation of public ministers had been hitherto reserved to the several presbyteries in city and country; but Cromwell, observing some inconvenience in this method, and not willing to trust the qualifications of candidates, and the admission into benefices, to the presbyteries only, who might refuse all but their own party, by an ordinance of council, appointed commissioners of both denominations, with eight or nine laymen. Any five of which had power to approve, but no number under nine to reject a person as unqualified. The committee, in their approbation, gave them an instrument sealed with a common seal, equivalent to letters of institution and induction, which put them into full possession of the livings to which they were nominated, or elected. But as there was no standard, or rule of examination for the *Triers*, as they were called, to go by, they either examined the candidates as to their advances only in grace and the time of their conversion; or if they questioned them in any parts of learning, it was only in the system of Calvin, which was made the door of admission into all church preferments, and they exercised a power

greater than that of the bishops.* In this way many illiterate laymen, mechanics, and pedlars were admitted into livings, and persons of greater merit were rejected.

In order to prevent any of the sequestered clergy to get admission, another ordinance was passed by the protector and his council, requiring these commissioners, "not to give admission to any ministers who had been ejected for delinquency, till by experience of their conformity and submission to the present government, his highness and his council should be satisfied of their fitness to be admitted into ecclesiastical promotions."†

Many complaints were made, and as it appears very justly, respecting these commissioners, for their partiality to the independents, anabaptists, fifth monarchy men, and separatists, and against Arminians, and the loyal clergy. Accusations were brought against them for bribery, and other corrupt practices; but such were probably rather founded in resentment or malice, than in truth.

As there was now an insurrection intended and attempted for the restoration of the king, and it

* See a specimen of such examinations in Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i, pp. 176, 177.

† Scobel, p. 368. Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iv, p. 104. Warner's *Eccles. Hist. of England*, vol. ii, p. 585, &c.

was thought that many of the clergy were stirring up the people to that purpose; in order to humble them still further, and to keep them within the bounds of their spiritual function, another ordinance was passed by the protector and his council, Aug. 28, 1654, appointing lay commissioners in every county, with ten or more ministers for their assistants, and empowering any five to call before them public preachers, lecturers, parsons, vicars, curates, and schoolmasters, who might be reputed *scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient* or *negligent*; and to examine into their offences upon oath of witnesses, and if they were found guilty, they were ejected, a *fifth* of their benefice or income being allowed for the support of their wives and children.*

The venerable and apostolic church of England was now reduced to the most deplorable state. The injunctions of the above ordinance reduced the few remaining loyal clergy to the extremity of distress and oppression. Some few of the loyal clergy had been connived at during some periods of the usurpation in the use of the liturgy, both in private and in public; but now by this cruel ordinance, *such as had read or used the common prayer book in public since Jan. 1653--4, or should at any*

* Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i, p. 178, &c. Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iv, p. 109.

time hereafter do the same, were to be accounted scandalous, and were to be summoned before this inquisition-court established in every county! Thus, effectual measures were adopted "to turn the few remaining loyal clergy out of their livings, and to prevent their getting into any others for the future." Providence, however, directed many of them to procure subsistence for themselves and families by being chaplains and tutors in private families, and by keeping schools. But as they were accused of being turbulent, of publishing libels against the present government, and of threatening to assassinate the protector, he therefore determined to crush them, and accordingly an order was published, Nov. 24, "that no persons, after Jan. 1st, 1655-6, shall keep in their houses or families, as chaplains or schoolmasters, for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected minister, fellow of a college, or schoolmaster, nor permit any of their children to be taught by such. That no person, who hath been sequestered or ejected out of any benefice, college, or school, for delinquency or scandal, shall keep any school either public or private, nor any person, who after that time, shall be ejected for the aforesaid causes. That no such persons shall preach in any public place, or at any private meeting of any other persons than those of his own family, nor shall administer baptism, or the Lord's supper,

nor marry any persons, nor use the book of common prayer, or the forms of prayer therein contained, upon pain of being prosecuted, according to the orders lately published by his highness and council, for securing the peace of the commonwealth. Nevertheless his highness declares, that towards such of the said persons as have, since their ejection or sequestration, given, or hereafter shall give, a real testimony of their godliness, and good affection to the present government, so much tenderness shall be used, as may consist with the safety and good of the nation.”*

“The severities of this declaration,” says Dr. Walker, “seem to have completed the miseries of the loyal clergy, and were, on this account, more the effect of pure and unmixed cruelty, than any of the former ordinances. Forasmuch as the poor livelihoods now taken from the royalists, were of such a nature, that they could not be distributed (as the rich livings had been) among their own clergy. Nor were they of so much consideration, as to move either their envy, or their covetousness. Several of the former ordinances had indeed ejected them from the schools, as well as the livings, and taken care that they should not be employed again in either of them. But this

* Harleian Miscellany, vol. v, p. 249. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part. i, p. 194.

declaration first hunted them out of the private families of such as were willing to entertain them for chaplains or tutors. And, though the peace of the kingdom was made the pretence, the plain effect was, the *starving* both of themselves and their families, as far as the directions and orders of this declaration could do it.* Neal and Harris, both not very friendly to the loyal clergy, acknowledge the cruelty of this ordinance: the former says, "This was a severe and terrible order upon the episcopalians, and absolutely unjustifiable in itself:" the words of the latter are the following: This "edict against the episcopal clergy was very cruel, as it deprived them in a good measure of their maintenance, and of their liberty of worshipping God according as appeared best to their own understanding." "It would be useless to spend words in exposing the cruelty of this declaration. Persecution is written on the face of it; nor is it capable of a vindication."†

These last degrees of extremity, to which the

* Sufferings of the Clergy, part. i, p. 194.

It is also said that Cromwell took care that the Loyalists should have no employment at home or abroad; that they should have nothing to subsist by; and also enacted, that it should be *penal*, if they went about to beg!! *Ibid. supra.*

† See Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iv, p. 136, and Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 429, ed. 1814.

injunctions of this declaration reduced the loyal clergy, compelled some of their brethren, to venture themselves before Cromwell in behalf of those miserable sufferers. Dr. Gauden presented a petitionary remonstrance to the protector against this order: and some of the most considerable episcopal clergy on the issuing forth of this decree, applied to Archbishop Usher to use his interest with the protector: "that as he granted liberty of conscience to almost all sorts of religions, so the episcopal divines might have the same freedom of serving God in their private congregations, (since they were not permitted the public churches) according to the liturgy of the church of England; and that neither the ministers, nor those that frequented that service, might be any more hindered or disturbed by his soldiers. So according to their desires, continues Dr. Parr, the biographer of Archbishop Usher, "he went and used his utmost endeavours with Cromwell, for the taking off this restraint, which was at last promised, (though with some difficulty) that they should not be molested, provided they meddled not with any matters relating to his government:" but when the primate went to him again, to get this promise ratified and put into writing, he found the protector under the hands of his surgeon, who was dressing a great boil that he had then upon his breast. He desired the primate to sit down,

and said he would speak with him when the dressing was over. Whilst it was doing, he said to the primate, 'if this core, (pointing to the boil) were once out, I should quickly be well.' To which the primate replied, "I doubt the core lies deeper; there is a core at the heart that must be taken out, or else it will not be well." "Ah! replied Cromwell," seemingly unconcerned, 'so there is indeed,' and sighed. But when the primate began to speak of the business he came about, he answered to this effect, 'that he had since better considered it, having advised with his council, who thought it not safe for him to grant liberty of conscience to those sort of men, who are restless and implacable enemies to him and his government,' and so took his leave with good words and outward civility. The Lord Primate seeing it was in vain to urge it any further, said little more to him, but returned to his lodgings very much troubled, and concerned that his endeavours had met with no better success. When he was in his chamber, he said to some of his relations, and Dr. Parr who came to visit him, "This false man hath broken his word with me, and refuses to perform what he promised. Well, he will have little cause to glory in his wickedness, for he will not continue long. The king will return: though I shall not live to see it, you may. The government, both in church and state,

is in confusion. The papists are advancing their projects, and making such advantages as will hardly be prevented.”*

“This truly venerable primate,” says Harris, “had reason to be out of humour. For whatever might have been the practices of many of the episcopal clergy, it is certain there were amongst them wise, pious, learned, and peaceable men, who merited a very different treatment from this which was given them by Oliver.” However it has been before mentioned that some worthy episcopal clergy were connived at, or permitted to officiate in the churches, and probably all of them did not suffer inconveniences on account of this severe declaration. It must be allowed that some small degree of tenderness was used towards some, though there is no doubt but many innocent and worthy men must have received very hard measure.†

The charitable society for the relief of the widows and children of clergymen, since known by the name of the *Corporation for the Sons of the Clergy*, commenced in the year 1655. The first sermon was preached by the Rev. George Hall, M. A. son of Bishop Hall, then minister of St. Botolph's, Aldersgate, afterwards chaplain to King

* Dr. Parr's *Life of Usher*, p. 75.

† See Harris's *Life of Oliver Cromwell*, pp. 430, 431.

Charles II. Archdeacon of Canterbury and Bishop of Chester. The sermon was entitled, "GOD'S APPEARING FOR THE TRIBE OF LEVI, *improved in a sermon preached at St. Paul's*, Nov. 8, 1655, *to the sons of ministers then solemnly assembled*, from Numb. xvii, 8. THE ROD OF AARON BUDDED, AND BLOOMED BLOSSOMS, AND YIELDED ALMONDS. The preacher's design was to enforce the necessity and usefulness of a settled ministry; though his sermon discovered him to be a minister of the church of England, yet it breathed moderation and christian charity: "Let those ill-invented terms," said he, "whereby we have been distinguished from each other, be swallowed up in that name which will lead us hand in hand to heaven—the name of CHRISTIANS. If my stomach, or any of yours, rise against the name of brotherly communion, which may consist with our several principles retained, not differing in substantials, God take down that stomach, and make us see how much we are concerned to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. Why should some, in the height of their zeal for a liturgy, suppose there can be no service of God but where that is used? Why should others, again, think their piety concerned and trespassed upon, if I prefer, and think fit to use a set form? There must be abatements and allowances of each other; a coming down from our punctilios,

or we shall never give up a good account to God. This noble charity from that time gradually increased, by collections at annual sermons, and other large contributions and donations, and was established by charter in the reign of Charles II. and so the society became a *body corporate*: and their present flourishing condition is well known to the whole nation.*

From this time to the death of Bishop Hall in the following year, and indeed to the restoration, the general calamity continued.

* Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iv, pp. 142, 143. Warner's Eccles. Hist. of England, vol. ii, p. 586.

CHAPTER XI.

As a review of the proceedings of the long parliament against the church, and of the sufferings of the bishops and clergy, it may be proper here to annex

BISHOP HALL'S HARD MEASURE.

“ Nothing could be more plain, than that, on the call of this parliament, and before, there was a general plot and resolution of the faction to alter the government of the church especially. The height and insolency of some church governors, as was conceived, and the ungrounded imposition of some innovations on the churches both of Scotland and England, gave a fit hint to the project.

“ In the vacancy, therefore, before the summons, and immediately after it, there was great working secretly for the designation and election, as of knights and burgesses, so especially, beyond all former use, of the clerks of convocation: when now the clergy were stirred up to contest with and oppose their diocesans, for the choice

of such men as were most inclined to the favour of an alteration.

“ The parliament was no sooner sat, than many vehement speeches were made against established church government, and enforcement of extirpation both root and branch.

“ And, because it was not fit to set upon all at once, the resolution was to begin with those bishops which had subscribed to the canons then lately published, upon the shutting up of the former parliament: whom they would first have had accused of treason; but that not appearing feasible, they thought best to indict them of very high crimes and offences against the king, the parliament, and kingdom: which was prosecuted with great earnestness by some prime lawyers in the house of commons, and entertained with like fervency by some zealous lords in the house of peers; every of those particular canons being pressed to the most envious and dangerous height that was possible: the archbishop of York (was designed for the report) aggravating Mr. Maynard's criminations to the utmost, not without some interspersions of his own. The counsel of the accused bishops gave in such a demurring answer, as stopped the mouth of that heinous indictment.

“ When this prevailed not, it was contrived to draw petitions accusatory from many parts of

the kingdom against episcopal government; and the promoters of the petitions were entertained with great respects: whereas the many petitions of the opposite part, though subscribed with many thousand hands, were slighted and disregarded.

“ Withal, the rabble of London, after their petitions cunningly and upon other pretences procured, were stirred up to come to the houses personally to crave justice both against the earl of Strafford, first; and, then, against the archbishop of Canterbury; and, lastly, against the whole order of bishops; which, coming at first unarmed, were checked by some well-willers, and easily persuaded to gird on their rusty swords; and, so accoutred, came by thousands to the houses, filling all the outer rooms, offering foul abuses to the bishops as they passed, crying out ‘No bishops, no bishops!’ and, at last, after divers days’ assembling, grown to that height of fury, that many of them, whereof Sir Richard Wiseman professed (though to his cost) to be captain, came with resolution of some violent courses, insomuch that many swords were drawn hereon at Westminster, and the rout did not stick openly to profess that they would pull the bishops in pieces. Messages were sent down to them from the lords. They still held firm, both to the place and their bloody resolutions. It now grew to be torch light. One of the lords, the Marquis of Hertford, came up to the bishops’

form, told us, that we were in great danger, advised us to take some course for our own safety; and, being desired to tell us what he thought was the best way, counselled us to continue in the parliament house all that night: 'For,' saith he, 'these people vow they will watch you at your going out, and will search every coach for you with torches, so as you cannot escape.' Hereupon the house of lords was moved for some order for the preventing their mutinous and riotous meetings. Messages were sent down to the house of commons to this purpose more than once: nothing was effected; but, for the present (forsomuch as all the danger was at the rising of the house) it was earnestly desired of the lords that some care might be taken of our safety. The motion was received by some lords with a smile. Some other lords, as the earl of Manchester, undertook the protection of the archbishop of York and his company (whose shelter I went under) to their lodgings. The rest, some of them by their long stay, others by secret and far-fetched passages, escaped home.

"It was not for us to venture any more to the house without some better assurance. Upon our resolved forbearance therefore, the archbishop of York sent for us to his lodging at Westminster; lays before us the perilous condition we were in; advises for remedy, except we meant utterly to abandon our right and to desert our station in

parliament, to petition both his Majesty and the parliament, that, since we were legally called by his Majesty's writ to give our attendance in parliament, we might be secured, in the performance of our duty and service, against those dangers that threatened us; and, withal, to protest against any such acts as should be made during the time of our forced absence: for which he assured us there were many precedents in former parliaments; and which, if we did not, we should betray the trust committed to us by his Majesty, and shamefully betray and abdicate the due right both of ourselves and successors.

“ To this purpose, in our presence, he drew up the said petition and protestation; avowing it to be legal, just, and agreeable to all former proceedings; and, being fair written, sent it to our several lodgings for our hands: which we accordingly subscribed, intending yet to have had some further consultation concerning the delivering and whole carriage of it. But, ere we could suppose it to be in any hand but his own, the first news we heard was, that there were messengers addressed to fetch us in to the parliament, on an accusation of high treason. For, whereas this paper was to have been delivered, first to his Majesty's secretary; and, after perusal by him, to his Majesty; and, after, from his Majesty to the parliament; and, for that purpose, to the Lord

Keeper, the Lord Littleton, who was the speaker of the house of peers ; all these professed not to have perused it at all : but the said Lord Keeper, willing enough to take this advantage of engratiating himself with the house of commons and the faction, to which he knew himself sufficiently obnoxious, finding what use might be made of it by prejudicate minds, reads the same openly in the house of the lords : and, when he found some of the faction apprehensive enough of misconstruction, aggravates the matter, as highly offensive and of dangerous consequence ; and, thereupon, not without much heat and vehemence, and with an ill preface, it is sent down to the house of commons : where it was entertained heinously ; Glynné, with a full mouth, crying it up for no less than a high treason ; and some comparing, yea preferring, it to the powder plot.

“ We, poor souls, who little thought that we had done any thing that might deserve a chiding, are now called to our knees at the bar, and charged severally with high treason ; being not a little astonished at the suddenness of this crimination, compared with the perfect innocence of our own intentions, which were only to bring us to our due places in parliament with safety and speed, without the least purpose of any man’s offence.

“ But, now, traitors we are in all the haste, and must be dealt with accordingly : for, on January

30th,* in all the extremity of frost, at eight o'clock in the dark evening, are we voted to the Tower: only two of our number had the favor of the black rod, by reason of their age; which, though desired by a noble lord on my behalf, would not be yielded. Wherein I acknowledge and bless the gracious providence of my God: for, had I been gratified, I had been undone both in body and purse; the rooms being strait, and the expense beyond the reach of my estate.

"The news of this our crime and imprisonment soon flew over the city; and was entertained by our well-willers, with ringing of bells and bonfires: who now gave us up, not without great triumph, for lost men; railing on our perfidiousness, and adjudging us to what foul deaths they pleased. And what scurrile and malicious pamphlets were scattered abroad, throughout the kingdom and in foreign parts, blazoning our infamy, and exaggerating our treasonable practices! What insultations of our adversaries was here!

"Being caged sure enough in the Tower, the faction had now fair opportunities to work their own designs. They, therefore, taking the advantage of our restraint, renew that bill of theirs,

* It should be December 30, for the date of the Letter from the Tower is January 24, 1641. See *Bishop Hall's Works*, vol. i, p. liii, and p. 308 of this volume.

which had been twice before rejected since the beginning of this session, for taking away the votes of the bishops in parliament; and, in a very thin house, easily passed it: which once condescended unto, I know not by what strong importunity, his Majesty's assent was drawn from him thereunto.

"We now, instead of looking after our wonted honor, must bend our thoughts on the guarding of our lives; which were, with no small eagerness, pursued by the violent agents of the faction. Their sharpest wits and greatest lawyers were employed to advance our impeachment to the height, but the more they looked into the business, the less crime could they find to fasten on us: insomuch as one of their oracles, being demanded his judgment concerning the fact, professed to them, they might with as good reason accuse us of adultery.* Yet, still, there are we fast: only, upon petition to the lords, obtaining this favor, that we might have counsel assigned us: which after much reluctance, and many menaces from the commons against any man of all the commoners of England that should dare to be seen to plead in this case against the representative body of the commons, was granted us. The lords assigned us five very worthy lawyers, which

* See Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i, p. 7.

were nominated to them by us. What trouble and charge it was to procure those eminent and much employed counsellors to come to the Tower to us; and to observe the strict laws of the place, for the time of their ingress, regress, and stay; it is not hard to judge.

“After we had lain some weeks there, however, the house of commons, on the first tender of our impeachment, had desired we might be brought to a speedy trial; yet now, finding belike how little ground they had for so high an accusation, they began to slack their pace, and suffered us rather to languish under the fear of so dreadful arraignment: insonmuch as now we are fain to petition the lords that we might be brought to our trial.

“The day was set: several summons were sent unto us: the lieutenant had his warrant to bring us to the bar: our impeachment was severally read: we pleaded ‘not guilty,’ *modo et formâ*; and desired speedy proceedings: which were accordingly promised, but not too hastily performed.

“After long expectation, another day was appointed for the prosecution of this high charge. The lieutenant brought us again to the bar; but, with what shoutings, and exclamations, and furious expressions of the enraged multitudes, it is not easy to apprehend. Being thither brought, and severally charged on our knees, and having

given our negative answers to every particular, two bishops, London and Winchester, were called in as witnesses against us, as in that point, whether they apprehended any such cause of fears in the tumults assembled, as that we were in danger of our lives in coming to the parliament: who seemed to incline to a favourable report of the perils threatened; though one of them was convinced out of his own mouth, from the relations himself had made at the archbishop of York's lodging. After this, Wild and Glynne made fearful declamations at the bar against us; aggravating all the circumstances of our pretended treason to the highest pitch. Our counsel were all ready at the bar to plead for us, in answer of their clamorous and envious suggestions: but it was answered, that it was now too late, we should have another day: which day, to this day, never came.

“The circumstances of that day's hearing were more grievous to us than the substance: for we were all thronged so miserably in that strait room before the bar, by reason that the whole house of commons would be there to see the prizes of their champions played, that we stood the whole afternoon in no small torture; sweating and struggling with a merciless multitude; till, being dismissed, we were exposed to a new and greater danger. For now, in the dark, we must to the

Tower ; by barge, as we came : and must shoot the bridge, with no small peril. That God, under whose merciful protection we are, returned us to our safe custody.

“There now we lay some weeks longer, expecting the summons for our counsels’ answer ; but, instead thereof, our merciful adversaries, well finding how sure they would be foiled in that unjust charge of treason, now, under pretences of remitting the height of rigor, wave their former impeachment of treason against us, and fall on an accusation of high misdemeanors in that our protestation, and will have us prosecuted as guilty of a *Premunire*: although, as we conceive, the law hath ever been in the parliamentary proceedings, that, if a man were impeached, as of treason, being the highest crime, the accusant must hold him to the proof of the charge, and may not fall to any meaner impeachment on failing of the higher.

“But, in this case of ours, it fell out otherwise : for, although the lords had openly promised us, that nothing should be done against us, till we and our counsel were heard in our defence ; yet the next news we heard was, the house of commons had drawn up a bill against us, wherein they declared us to be delinquents of a very high nature, and had thereon desired to have it enacted that all our spiritual means should be taken

away: only there should be a yearly allowance to every bishop for his maintenance, according to a proportion by them set down; wherein they were pleased that my share should come to four hundred pounds per annum. This bill was sent up to the lords, and by them also passed: and there hath ever since lain.

“ This being done, after some weeks more, finding the Tower, besides the restraint, chargeable; we petitioned the lords, that we might be admitted to bail, and have liberty to return to our homes. The Earl of Essex moved: the lords assented, took our bail, sent to the lieutenant of the Tower for our discharge. How glad were we to fly out of our cage!

“ No sooner was I got to my lodging, than I thought to take a little fresh air in St. James's Park; and, in my return to my lodging in the Dean's Yard, passing through Westminster Hall, was saluted by divers of my parliament acquaintance, and welcomed to my liberty: whereupon some, that looked upon me with an evil eye, run into the house, and complained that the bishops were let loose: which, it seems, was not well taken by the house of commons; who presently sent a kind of expostulation to the lords, that they had dismissed so heinous offenders without their knowledge and consent.

Scarce had I rested me in my lodging, when

there comes a messenger to me with the sad news, of sending me and the rest of my brethren the bishops back to the Tower again: from whence we came, thither we must go; and thither I went with a heavy, but I thank God, not impatient heart.

“After we had continued there some six weeks longer, and earnestly petitioned to return to our several charges, we were on five thousand pound bond dismissed; with a clause of revocation at a short warning, if occasion should require.

“Thus having spent the time betwixt new year’s even and whitsuntide in those safe walls, where we by turns preached every Lord’s day to a large auditory of citizens, we disposed of ourselves to the places of our several abode.

“For myself, addressing myself to Norwich, whither it was his Majesty’s pleasure to remove me, I was at the first received with more respect than in such times I could have expected. There I preached, the day after my arrival, to a numerous and attentive people: neither was sparing of my pains in this kind ever since; till the times, growing every day more impatient of a bishop, threatened my silencing.

“There, though with some secret murmurs of disaffected persons, I enjoyed peace till the ordinance of sequestration came forth, which was in the latter end of March following; then, when

I was in hope of receiving the profits of the foregoing half year for the maintenance of my family, were all my rents stopped and diverted; and, in the April following, came the sequestrators, viz. Mr. Sotherton, Mr. Tooley, Mr. Rawley, Mr. Greenwood, &c. to the palace; and told me, that, by virtue of an ordinance of parliament, they must seize on the palace, and all the estate I had, both real and personal; and, accordingly, sent certain men appointed by them, whereof one had been burnt in the hand for the mark of his truth, to apprise all the goods that were in the house: which they accordingly executed with all diligent severity; not leaving so much as a dozen of trenchers, or my children's pictures, out of their curious inventory. Yea, they would have apprised our very wearing clothes, had not Alderman Tooley and Sheriff Rawley, to whom I sent to require their judgment concerning the ordinance in this point, declared their opinion to the contrary.

“These goods, both library and household stuff of all kinds, were appointed to be exposed to public sale. Much inquiry there was when the goods should be brought to the market; but, in the mean time, Mrs. Goodwin, a religious good gentlewoman, whom yet we had never known or seen, being moved with compassion, very kindly offered to lay down to the sequestrators that

whole sum which the goods were valued at; and was pleased to leave them in our hands for our use, till we might be able to re-purchase them: which she did accordingly, and had the goods formally delivered to her by Mr. Smith and Mr. Greenwood, two sequestrators. As for the books, several stationers looked on them; but were not forward to buy them: at last, Mr. Cook, a worthy divine of this diocese, gave bond to the sequestrators, to pay to them the whole sum whereat they were set: which was afterwards satisfied out of that poor pittance that was allowed me for my maintenance. As for my evidences, they required them from me. I denied them, as not holding myself bound to deliver them. They nailed and sealed up the door, and took such as they found with me.

“ But, before this, the first noise that I heard of my trouble was, that, one morning, before my servants were up, there came to my gates one Wright, a London trooper, attended with others, requiring entrance: threatening, if they were not admitted, to break open the gates: whom I found, at my first sight, struggling with one of my servants for a pistol which he had in his hand. I demanded his business at that unseasonable time. He told me, he came to search for arms and ammunition, of which I must be disarmed. I told him I had only two muskets in the house,

and no other military provision. He, not resting upon my word, searched round about the house, looked into the chests and trunks, examined the vessels in the cellar. Finding no other warlike furniture, he asked me what horses I had, for his commission was to take them also. I told him how poorly I was stored, and that my age would not allow me to travel on foot. In conclusion, he took one horse, for the present: and such account of another, that he did highly expostulate with me afterwards, that I had otherwise disposed of him.

“Now not only my rents present, but the arrearages of the former years which I had in favor forborne to some tenants, being treacherously confessed to the sequestrators, were by them called for, and taken from me. Neither was there any course at all taken for my maintenance. I therefore addressed myself to the committee sitting here at Norwich; and desired them to give order for some means, out of that large patrimony of the church, to be allowed me. They all thought it very just; and, there being present Sir Thomas Woodhouse and Sir John Potts, parliament men, it was moved, and held fit by them and the rest, that the proportion which the votes of the parliament had pitched on, viz. four hundred pounds per annum, should be allowed to me. My Lord

of Manchester, who was then conceived to have great power in matter of these sequestrations, was moved herewith. He apprehended it very just and reasonable; and wrote to the committee here, to set out so many of the manors belonging to this bishoprick, as should amount to the said sum of four hundred pounds annually; which was answerably done, under the hands of the whole table.

“ And now I well hoped, I should yet have a good competency of maintenance out of that plentiful estate which I might have had: but those hopes were no sooner conceived than dashed; for, before I could gather up one quarter's rent, there comes down an order from the committee for sequestrations above, under the hand of Sergeant Wild the chairman, procured by Mr. Miles Corbet, to inhibit any such allowance; and telling our committee here, that neither they, nor any other, had power to allow me any thing at all: but, if my wife found herself to need a maintenance, on her suit to the committee of lords and commons, it might be granted that she should have a fifth part, according to the ordinance, allowed for the sustentation of herself and her family. Hereupon she sends a petition up to that committee; which, after a long delay, was

admitted to be read, and an order was granted for the fifth part. *

“ But still the rents and revenues, both of my spiritual and temporal lands, were taken up by the sequestrators, both in Norfolk, and Suffolk, and Essex, and we kept off from either allowance or accompt.

“ At last, upon much pressing, Beadle the solicitor, and Rust the collector, brought in an account to the committee, such as it was ; but so confused and perplexed, and so utterly unperfect, that we could never come to know what a fifth part meant : but they were content that I should eat my books, by setting off the sum engaged for them out of the fifth part. Meantime, the synodalls, both in Norfolk and Suffolk, and all the spiritual profits of the diocese, were also kept back : only ordinations and institutions continued awhile.

“ But after the covenant was appointed to be taken, and was generally swallowed of both clergy and laity, my power of ordination was, with some strange violence, restrained : for when I was going on in my wonted course, which no law or ordinance had inhibited, certain forward volunteers in the city, banding together, stir up

* See Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, for a full account of the *fifth* part allowed to *delinquents*, pp. 99-104, part i.

the mayor and aldermen and sheriffs to call me to an account for an open violation of their covenant:

“To this purpose, divers of them came to my gates at a very unseasonable time; and, knocking very vehemently, required to speak with the Bishop. Messages were sent to them to know their business: nothing would satisfy them but the Bishop's presence. At last, I came down to them; and demanded what the matter was: they would have the gate opened, and then they would tell me. I answered that I would know them better first: if they had any thing to say to me, I was ready to hear them. They told me they had a writing to me, from Mr. Mayor, and some other of their magistrates. The paper contained both a challenge of me for breaking the covenant, in ordaining ministers; and, withal, required me to give in the names of those, which were ordained by me both then and formerly since the covenant. My answer was, that Mr. Mayor was much abused by those who had misinformed him, and drawn that paper from him; that I would the next day give a full answer to the writing. They moved that my answer might be by my personal appearance at the Guildhall. I asked them when they ever heard of a bishop of Norwich appearing before a mayor. I knew mine own place; and would take that way of answer which I thought fit; and so dismissed them, who had given out

that day, that had they known before of mine ordaining, they would have pulled me and those whom I had ordained out of the chapel by the ears.

“ While I received nothing, yet something was required of me. They were not ashamed, after they had taken away and sold all my goods and personal estate, to come to me for assessments and monthly payments for that estate which they had taken ; and took distresses from me, upon my most just denial ; and vehemently required me to find the wonted arms of my predecessors, when they had left me nothing.

“ Many insolencies and affronts were, in all this time, put upon us. One while, a whole rabble of volunteers came to my gates late, when they were locked up, and called for the porter to give them entrance : which being not yielded, they threatened to make by force ; and, had not the said gates been very strong, they had done it. Others of them clambered over the walls, and would come into my house : their errand, they said, was to search for delinquents : what they would have done I know not, had not we by a secret way sent to raise the officers for our rescue. Another while, the Sheriff Toftes and Alderman Linsey, attended with many zealous followers, came into my chapel, to look for superstitious pictures and relics of idolatry ; and sent for me, to let me

know they found those windows full of images, which were very offensive, and must be demolished.* I told them they were the pictures of some ancient and worthy bishops, as St. Ambrose, Austin, &c. It was answered me, that they were so many popes; and one younger man amongst the rest (Townsend, as I perceived afterwards) would take on him to defend that every diocesan bishop was pope. I answered him with some scorn; and obtained leave that I might, with the least loss and defacing of the windows, give order for taking off that offence; which I did, by causing the heads of those pictures to be taken off, since I knew the bodies could not offend.

“There was not that care and moderation used in reforming the cathedral church bordering on my palace.† It is no other than tragical, to relate the carriage of that furious sacrilege, whereof our eyes and ears were the sad witnesses, under the authority and presence of Linsey, Toftes the sheriff, and Greenwood. Lord, what work was here! what clattering of glasses! what beating down of walls! what tearing up of monuments! what pulling down of seats! what wresting out of irons and brass from the windows and graves!

* See Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 24, part i.

† This sacrilegious outrage was committed on June 10, 1644.

what defacing of arms! what demolishing of curious stone-work, that had not any representation in the world, but only of the cost of the founder, and skill of the mason! what tooting and piping on the destroyed organ pipes! and what a hideous triumph on the market-day before all the country; when, in a kind of sacrilegious and profane procession, all the organ pipes, vestments, both copes and surplices, together with the leaden cross which had been newly sawn down from over the Green-yard pulpit, and the service-books and singing-books that could be had, were carried to the fire in the public market-place; a lewd wretch walking before the train, in his cope trailing in the dirt, with a service-book in his hand, imitating in an impious scorn the tune, and usurping the words of the litany used formerly in the church. Near the public cross, all these monuments of idolatry must be sacrificed to the fire not without much ostentation of a zealous joy, in discharging ordnance, to the cost of some, who professed how much they had longed to see that day. Neither was it any news upon this Guild-day, to have the cathedral, now open on all sides, to be filled with musketeers, waiting for the Major's return; drinking and tobacconing as freely, as if it had turned alehouse.

“ Still yet I remained in my palace, though with but a poor retinue and means; but the house was

held too good for me. Many messages were sent by Mr. Corbet to remove me thence. The first pretence was, that the committee, who was now at charge for a house to sit in, might make their daily session there; being a place both more public, roomy, and chargeless. The committee, after many consultations, resolved it convenient to remove thither: though many overtures and offers were made to the contrary. Mr. Corbet was impatient of my stay there; and procures and sends peremptory messages, for my present dislodging; we desired to have some time allowed for providing some other mansion, if we must needs be cast out of this; which my wife was so willing to hold, that she offered, if the charge of the present committee house where the thing stood upon, she would be content to defray the sum of the rent of that house of her fifth part: but that might not be yielded: out we must, and that in three weeks' warning by Midsummer day then approaching; so as we might have lain in the street for aught I know, had not the providence of God so ordered it, that a neighbour in the close, one Mr. Gostlin, a widower, was content to void his house for us.*

* In 1642, or 1643, William Gostlin, the mayor of Norwich, was sent a prisoner to Cambridge, for refusing to sanction the outrages of *these reformers*.—*Topograph. and Histor. Account of Norwich*, p. 242.

"This hath been my measure; wherefore, I know not: Lord, thou knowest, who only canst remedy, and end, and forgive or avenge this horrible oppression.

Scripsi, May 29, 1647.

"JOS. NORVIC."

Bishop Hall, on account of the distractions and calamities of the times, enjoyed but a very short respite of peace and quietness, as bishop of Norwich; the aspect of the times threatened the utmost severity against his order. He spent a considerable portion of his old age under a persecution, which has consigned his oppressors to infamy; many of whom would have been forgotten, even in name, but for their unchristian-like treatment of this eminent and meek divine. Under all the scenes of oppression and violence, his writings evince the spirit of the christian philosopher, and are indeed his truest testimony. About the beginning of April, 1643, the ordinance for sequestering the estates of notorious delinquents having been passed, in which Bishop Hall, and the other prelates, who had been committed to the Tower, were included, the *real* and *personal* estates of those twelve prelates by name, together with those of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of Norwich, were ordered to be sequestered into the hands of commissioners.

The estates also of all persons, whether *ecclesiastical* or *temporal*, who had discovered any affection to his Majesty, or any dislike to the proceedings of this parliament, were ordered to be sequestered. Many clergymen of eminent learning, and of blameless lives and conversations, who were sound protestants and excellent preachers, lost their estates and livelihoods through this merciless ordinance. Even the piety, moderation, and years of Bishop Hall could not save his property from the rapacious hands of these sequestrators, or protect his person from insult and abuse. All his property, both real and personal, was seized upon and sequestered. The doleful account which the bishop gives of his cruel treatment in his "*Hard Measure*," cannot be read without indignant emotions against his merciless oppressors.

If it may be asked, What crime or offence could have induced them to treat a christian bishop in so oppressive and cruel a manner? The answer is, he had been a strenuous advocate of episcopacy, and of the church of England; he had been loyal to the king, and a faithful friend of the constitution; and had exposed by his excellent writings the evils and mischiefs of factious parties.

He was therefore harassed, sequestered, and abused most cruelly. Half a year's rents, and arrears of rents, which in compassion to his

tenants he had given them time to pay, were taken from him. An inventory of all his goods in and out of the palace was taken, even to a *dozen of trenchers*, and his children's pictures: even the wearing apparel of himself and family would have been appraised, had not two of the sequestrators, to whom he appealed, forbidden it. All his furniture, library, and goods would have been publicly sold, had not some friends bought them at a valuation, and so kindly left them to him, till he should have been able to repurchase them. A bond was given to the sequestrators to the full value of the books, which they were appraised at; and it was paid out of that poor pittance of *fifths* allowed to his family. His synodals were for some time kept from him, and afterwards all the profits of the bishopric. He was several times insulted in his palace at unseasonable hours. Once, a London trooper, and others with him, came very early to the palace before the family were up, and threatened to break the gates, if they were not admitted. When he got entrance, he ransacked the whole house, under the pretence of searching for arms and ammunition. After having examined the chests, trunks, and vessels in the cellar, and finding only two muskets, he took away with him one of the bishop's two horses, when the venerable and aged prelate told him, "that his age would not allow him to travel

on foot." When this trooper afterwards understood that the bishop sold the other horse, he highly expostulated with him for so doing. At another time the palace was beset by a mob, because he ordained some persons in his chapel contrary to the covenant, and so insolently summoned him to appear before the mayor. One while a whole rabble of volunteers came to his gates at a late hour, when they were locked up, demanding admittance, and threatening to break the gates. Some of them clambered over the walls, and wanted to go into the palace to search for delinquents. These insolences, affronts, and many other hardships almost impossible to be enumerated, Bishop Hall endured with astonishing patience and resignation.

Parliament had agreed that £400. a year should be given towards the support of himself and family, in lieu of what they had deprived him of; but no care was taken for the payment of this money; and when he applied to the committee in Norwich, and had it confirmed to him by them, an order was received from the superior committee in London, prohibiting this allowance; but informing the Norwich committee, that if the bishop's *wife* was necessitated for a maintenance, upon her suit to the lords and commons, *it might be granted*, that she should have a fifth part. Application was accordingly made, and, after a long

delay, the request was granted. But the accounts of those *godly* sequestrators were so confused, that it could not be said what a fifth was; and "they were content that I should eat my books," says the bishop, "by setting off the sum engaged for them out of the fifth part." "Yet," says he again, "while I received nothing, something was required of me. They were not ashamed, after they had taken away and sold all my goods and personal estate, to come to me for assessments and monthly payments for that estate which they had taken; and took distresses from me, upon my most just denial, and vehemently required me to find the wonted arms of my predecessors, when they had left me nothing."

Bishop Hall published his *Hard Measure* about the latter end of May, 1647, which probably raised some commiseration in the hearts of those who had usurped the authority in church and state; for this year some small favor was shewn to those bishops and others, who had lived peaceably, and had been only spectators of the distracting miseries of their country. The committee was ordered to pay the £800. a year granted to Dr. Morton, bishop of Durham. Neal says that Bishop Hall's *real* estate was discharged, but Walker says, "I find indeed an order of Feb. 15, 1647, for taking off the sequestration, (which doubtless was from his *temporals* only,) but I pre-

sume it had just the same effect, (that is, just none at all) with the order for his pension of £400. per annum; for his *Hard Measure*, wherein he so justly complains of his horrible oppression, bears date, May 29, following; and he mentions not one word there of any thing restored to him.* Probably there was some lenity shewn him about this time, though his hardships were very great, which he bore with christian fortitude and patience. "I have heard him oft," says Whitefoot in his funeral sermon, "bemoan the spoils of the church, but very rarely did he so much as mention his own losses, *but took joyfully the spoiling of his goods.*" Archbishop Usher had now an allowance of £400. a year, till he could be otherwise provided for, and was soon after allowed to be a preacher at Lincoln's Inn, upon his taking the *negative oath*.†

* See Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iii, p. 394; and Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, part ii, p. 56.

† The negative oath was voted April 5, 1642. It ran thus: "I, A. B. do swear from my heart, that I will not, directly or indirectly, adhere unto or willingly assist the king in this war, or in this cause against the parliament, nor any forces raised without consent of the two houses of parliament, in this cause or war. And I do likewise swear, that my coming and submitting myself under the power and protection of parliament, is without any manner of design whatsoever to the prejudice of the proceedings of this present parliament, and without direction, privity, or advice of the king, or any of his council or officers, other than I have made known. So help me God." &c.

At last Bishop Hall was driven out of his palace, without allowing him sufficient time to look out for another residence: though he requested the favour of hiring the palace, and Mrs. Hall offered to pay the rent out of the *fifths* allowed to her, yet so much favor would not be shewn to him; he was turned out in three weeks' notice. Being thus dispossessed, "we might," says he, have lain in the street, for ought I know, had not the providence of God so ordered it, that a neighbour in the close, one Mr. Gostlin, a widower, was content to void his house for us."

Afterwards the bishop and his family retired to a small estate, which he rented at Heigham, a hamlet in the western suburbs of Norwich, where he terminated his earthly pilgrimage, after all the outrages, persecutions, and hardships he endured in those turbulent times, and *entered into that rest which remaineth for the people of God; where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest.* The bishop's house is still existing, and is now a public house, whose sign is the Dolphin. It is an ancient house built of flint, near the church; and has for about a century back been a public house. Bloomfield says it was not the bishop's private property, but hired. There are the dates of 1587 and 1615 on it. Initials, B. with a merchant's mark, and a coat of arms, *three herons.* During his retirement at Heigham,

our good bishop spent the remainder of his days in doing all the good he could. He was ready on all occasions to preach in any of the churches in Norwich, as appears from several sermons still extant, "till he was first forbidden by men, and at last disabled by God." And when he could not preach as often, and as long as he was able, he was "as diligent a hearer as he had been a preacher; how oft have we seen him," says Whitefoot, "walking alone, like old Jacob, with his staff, to Bethel, the house of God!" When he was in the eightieth year of his age, he preached in Heigham church the forty-second sermon in the fifth volume of his Works, intitled, "Life a sojourning," on Sunday, July 1st, 1655, from 1 Pet. i, 17. *If ye call on the Father, who, without respect of persons, judgeth according to every man's work, pass the time of your sojourning here in fear.* The venerable and aged bishop on this occasion observed to his audience, that "it hath pleased the providence of my God so to contrive it, that this day, this very morning, fourscore years ago, I was born into the world. 'A great time since,' ye are ready to say: and so indeed it seems to you, that look at it forward; but to me, that look at it past, it seems so short, that it is gone like a tale that is told, or a dream by night, and looks but like yesterday. It can be no offence for me to say, that many of you,

who hear me this day, are not like to see so many suns walk over your heads, as I have done. Yea, what speak I of this? There is not one of us, that can assure himself of his continuance here one day. We are all tenants at will; and, for ought we know, may be turned out of these clay cottages at an hour's warning. Oh, then, what should we do, but, as wise farmers, who know the time of their lease is expiring and cannot be renewed, carefully and seasonably provide ourselves of a surer and more during tenure?" The minds of the audience could not fail to be impressed by such pertinent remarks from so venerable and aged a pastor: indeed, it was the bishop's endeavour in his last years to keep in view *that house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens*, and to prepare others for that change by his last writings and sermons, which particularly treated "upon the last things—death and judgment, heaven and hell."

He spent much of his last years in devotion and meditation, lamenting the sufferings and calamities of church and state. Under all his sufferings, he distributed a weekly charity to a certain number of poor widows out of the little which was left him. He observed also a weekly fast with his whole family, for the safety and preservation of the king's person, until his Majesty was murdered. During his last illness, he evinced extraordinary

patience and submission to the Divine will. He was afflicted with violent and acute pains of the stone and strangury, which he bore most patiently, till death put an end to all his sufferings and troubles. It is said that he punctually foretold the night of his death, and accordingly gave orders for the time and manner of his funeral. He was gathered to his fathers in a good old age, dying Sept. 8th, 1656, in the eighty-second year of his age. In his will he bequeathed to the town where he was born, and to the city where he died, thirty pounds a-piece for the benefit of poor widows. By his will, also, he desired to be buried without any funeral pomp, at the discretion of his executors, with this only monition, That he did not hold God's house a meet repository for the dead bodies of the greatest saints.* From this clause it has been inferred that he was buried in the churchyard of Heigham: and from what we learn from his Works, how that he particularly disliked burials in churches: especially from his sermon preached in the city of

* His will thus begins:—"In the name of God, Amen. I, Joseph Hall, D.D. not worthy to be called Bishop of Norwich, &c. First, I bequeath my soul, &c. My body I leave to be interred, without any funeral pomp, at the discretion of my executors; with this only monition, that I do not hold God's house a meet repository for the dead bodies of the greatest saints."—Fuller's Worthies, vol. i, p. 666.

Exeter, at the consecration of a burial ground there, Aug. 24, 1637, it might be gathered that he would not have been buried in the church; for he has very expressly and strongly pointed out in the above sermon, the impropriety of the practice of burying in churches.* But there is no doubt that he was buried in the chancel of Heigham church, under the mural monument erected to his memory on the south-side wall. Over his grave or vault was a black marble stone, on which the Arms of the see of Norwich impaling Hall's, surmounted by a mitre, are engraved, with the following inscription—

INDUVIÆ JOSEPHI HALL
OLIM NORVICENSIS
ECCLESIAE SERVI
REPOSITÆ 8^o DIE MENSIS
SEPTEMBRIS ANNO DOMINI
1656 ÆTATIS SUÆ
ANNO 82^o
VALE LECTOR ET
ÆTERNITATI
PROSPICE.

This stone was removed a few years since into the middle of the chancel, in consequence of a pew being erected over the bishop's grave. In excavating the adjoining ground in the month of January 1823, for the interment of the widow of a late rector, the side wall of the grave or

* See Bishop Hall's Works, vol. v, p. 426.

vault, apparently of considerable solidity, was uncovered, and exactly corresponded to the former situation of the above stone.

The mural monument, placed directly above the grave on the south wall, is of stone intermixed with black marble, of rather coarse workmanship. The pediment, in which it finishes, is surmounted with a mitre *in relief*, and the arms of Hall singly (Sable 3 Talbotts' heads erased Arg.) are under the pediment. The principal feature of the monument is the figure of a skeleton executed in gilding on an arch-headed black marble tablet, which occupies the whole space from the pediment to a plinth at the bottom. The figure holds in its right hand a scroll with a seal attached to it, inscribed "Debemus Morti Nos Nostraque:" and in its left hand another scroll, from which a seal has been torn, inscribed "Persolvit et quietus est." On the tablet, between the legs of the figure, is engraved,—

OBIIIT 8 SEPTEM. ANO ÆRÆ CHRISTIANÆ 1656. ÆT.
SUÆ 82.

On the plinth of black marble is engraved,

JOSEPHUS HALLUS OLIM HUILIS ECCLESIE SERVUS.

Mrs. Hall died Aug. 27, 1652, and was buried in Heigham church: her tombstone is now

covered by pews against the south wall, and on it is the following inscription—

M. S.

ELIZABETH THE DEARE AND VERTUOUS
CONSORT OF JOSEPH HALL B: N: WITH
WHOM SHE COMFORTABLY LIVED
FOURTY EIGHT YEARS CHANGED THIS
MORTALL LIFE FOR AN ETERNALL, AUGUST
27. 1652. IN THE YEAR OF HER AGE 69
FAREWELL READER AND MIND
ETERNITIE.

Mr. John Hall, a son of Bishop Hall, was buried on the 12th of Feb. 1650.* Blomefield, in his history of Norfolk, under Heigham, not only mentions the inscribed tombstone of the bishop's wife, but also of his son: but the latter does not now remain; some years ago it was the stepping stone of a stile into the church yard.

Bishop Hall had been the husband of one wife, "a grave, virtuous matron, with whom he lived forty-nine years." On occasion of her death he wrote his Tractate, entitled *Songs in the Night, or Cheerfulness under Affliction*. In the letter addressed to "a dear and worthy friend," prefixed to this Treatise, the bishop observes, "indeed, it pleased my God lately to exercise me with a double affliction at once; pain of body, and

* In Norwich cathedral there is a monument for Edward Hall, son of the bishop, who died young in 1642.—Vide *Magna Britannia*, vol. iii, p. 316.

grief of mind for the sickness and death of my dear consort. I struggled with them both, as I might; and by God's mercy, attained to a meek and humble submission to that just and gracious hand, and a quiet composedness of thoughts: but yet, methought, I found myself wanting in that comfortable disposition of heart and lively elevation of spirit, which some holy souls have professed to feel in their lowest depression, fetching that inward consolation from heaven, which can more than counterpoise their heaviest crosses. Upon this occasion, you see here how I held fit to busy my thoughts, labouring by their holy agitation, to work myself, through the blessing of the Almighty, to such a cheerful temper, as might give an obedient welcome to so smarting an affliction; and, that even while I weep, I might yet smile upon the face of my heavenly Father, whose stripes I do so tenderly suffer. If in some other discourses I have endeavoured to instruct others, in this I mean to teach myself, and to win my heart to a willing and contented acquiescence in the good pleasure of my God, how harsh soever it seems to rebellious nature." In the seventh section of this excellent treatise, speaking of his heavy afflictions and losses, the pious and aged bishop says, "Come then, all ye earthly crosses: and muster up all your forces against me. Here is

that, which is able to make me more than conqueror over you all." (He had spoken before of that blessed eternity which he wished to keep in view.) "Have I lost my goods, and foregone a fair estate? Had all the earth been mine, what is it to heaven? Had I been the lord of all the world, what were this to a kingdom of glory? Have I parted with a dear consort; the sweet companion of my youth; the tender nurse of my age: the partner of my sorrows, for these forty-eight years? she is but stepped a little before me to that happy rest, which I am panting towards; and wherein I shall speedily overtake her. In the mean time, and ever, my soul is espoused to that glorious and immortal husband, from whom it shall never be parted. Am I bereaved of some of my dear children, the sweet pledges of our matrimonial love; whose parts and hopes promised me comfort in my declined age? Why am I not rather thankful it hath pleased my God, out of my loins to furnish heaven with some happy guests? Why do I not, instead of mourning for their loss, sing praises to God, for preferring them to that eternal blessedness? Am I afflicted with bodily pain and sickness, which banisheth all sleep from my eyes, and exercises me with a lingering torture? Ere long, this momentary distemper shall end in an everlasting rest. Am I threatened by the

sword of an enemy? Suppose that man to be one of the guardians of paradise, and that sword as flaming as it is sharp, that one stroke shall let me into that place of unconceivable pleasure, and admit me to feed on the tree of life for ever.

“Cheer up, then, O my soul; and upon the fixed apprehension of the glory to be revealed, while thy weak partner, my body, droops and languishes under the sad load of years and infirmities, sing thou to thy God, even in the midnight of thy sorrows, and in the deepest darkness of death itself, songs of confidence, songs of spiritual joy, songs of praise and thanksgiving: saying, with all the glorified ones,—
Blessing, honor, glory, and power, be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever. Amen.” Rev. v, 13.*

* Bishop Hall's Works, vol. viii, ad fin.

CHAPTER XII.

A VIEW OF THE CHARACTER OF BISHOP HALL, AND OF HIS WRITINGS.

THE character and mind of Bishop Hall are prominently delineated and portrayed in his admirable and numerous writings. Every attentive reader of his works will easily discover the humility of the christian, united with great talents, and extensive literary attainments. "He is universally allowed to have been a person of incomparable piety, meekness and modesty, a thorough knowledge of the world, and of great wit and learning." Richardson, in his edition of Godwin's *De Presulibus*, p. 444, gives the following character of Bishop Hall:—" *Vir rerum usu peritus, ingenio subtili et exercitato, eruditione multiplici instructus, nec interim minor erat modestiæ et indolis mansuetissimæ laus.*"

He was from his birth, in a peculiar manner, a child of providence; and he tells us in the beginning of his "Account of Himself," that he

noted the wonderful providence of God in all his ways:—"What I have done is worthy of nothing but silence and forgetfulness; but what God hath done for me, is worthy of everlasting and thankful memory."

For his preferments and promotions in the church he was indebted to no patronage whatever, but such as his own abilities, and eminent qualities, under Providence, procured him: by these he was introduced to the notice and protection of Prince Henry; and, after the lamented death of that excellent prince, of his brother Charles I. In the several dedications prefixed to detached portions of his works, according to the custom of that age, he dwells with sincere and unaffected gratitude on the favors he received from his royal patrons, and he always mentions most gratefully the kindnesses of his other friends and patrons towards him.

He was pious from his youth; and being devoted by his parents to serve God in the sacred ministry, he particularly directed his studies to that end. He was so great a lover of study, that he earnestly wished his health would have allowed him a more unceasing application. The following extracts from a letter to his patron Lord Denny, exhibit to us his usual manner of study and of spending each day.

"Every day is a little life; and our whole life

is but a day repeated: whence it is, that old Jacob numbers his life by days; and Moses desires to be taught this point of holy arithmetic, to number not his years but his days. Those therefore that dare lose a day, are dangerously prodigal; those that dare mispend it, desperate. We can teach others by ourselves: let me tell your Lordship how I would pass my days, whether common or sacred; and that you, or whosoever others over-hearing me, may either approve my thriftiness, or correct my errors.—When sleep is rather driven away than leaves me, I would ever awake with God. My first thoughts are for him: if my heart be early seasoned with his presence, it will savour of him all day after. While my body is dressing, not with an effeminate curiosity, nor yet with rude neglect; my mind addresses itself to her ensuing task, bethinking what is to be done, and in what order, and marshalling, as it may, my hours with my work. That done, after some meditation, I walk up to my masters and companions—my books; and sitting down amongst them, with the best contentment, I dare not reach forth my hand to salute any of them, till I have first looked up to heaven, and craved favor of him, to whom all my studies are duly referred: without whom, I can neither profit nor labor. After this, out of no over great variety, I call

forth those, which may best fit my occasions; wherein I am not too scrupulous of age: sometimes I put myself to school to one of those ancients, whom the church hath honoured with the name of Fathers; whose volumes, I confess not to open, without a secret reverence of their holiness and gravity: sometimes, to those latter doctors, which want nothing but age to make them classical:—ALWAYS TO GOD'S BOOK. That day is lost, whereof some hours are not improved in those divine monuments: others I turn over, out of choice; these out of duty. Ere I can have sat unto weariness, my family, having now overcome all household distractions, invites me to our common devotions; not without some short preparation. These heartily performed, send me up with a more strong and cheerful appetite to my former work, which I find made easy to me by intermission and variety. One while mine eyes are busied; another while my hand; and sometimes my mind takes the burden from them both. One hour is spent in textual divinity; another in controversy: histories relieve them both. When the mind is weary of other labours, it begins to undertake her own; sometimes it meditates and winds up for future use: sometimes it lays forth her conceits into present discourse; sometimes for itself, often for others. Neither know I whether it works or plays in these thoughts. I am sure

no sport hath more pleasure; no work more use: only the decay of a weak body, makes me think these delights insensibly laborious. Before my meals and after, I let myself loose from all thoughts, and would forget that I ever studied. Company, discourse, recreations, are now seasonable and welcome. I rise not immediately from my trencher to my book, but after some intermission. After my latter meal, my thoughts are slight; only my memory may be charged with the task of recalling what was committed to her custody in the day; and my heart is busy in examining my hands and mouth, and all other senses, of that day's behaviour. The evening is come: no tradesman doth more carefully take in his wares, clear his shopboard, and shut his windows, than I would shut up my thoughts and clear my mind. That student shall live miserably, which, like a camel, lies down under his burden. All this done, calling together my family, we end the day with God. Such are my common days."

This may be considered as a specimen of the habitual mode of Bishop Hall's employing his time. He proceeds to describe his way of spending the sabbath day. "But God's day calls for another respect. The same sun arises on this day, and enlightens it: yet, because that Sun of Righteousness arose upon it, and gave a new life unto the world in it, and drew the strength of God's

moral precept unto it; therefore, justly do we sing with the Psalmist, *This is the day which the Lord hath made*. Now, I forget the world, and, in sort, myself: and deal with my wonted thoughts, as great men use, who, at some times of their privacy, forbid the access of all suitors. Prayer, meditation, reading, hearing, preaching, singing, good conference, are the businesses of this day; which I dare not bestow on any work or pleasure, but heavenly. I hate superstition on the one side, and looseness on the other; but I find it hard to offend in too much devotion; easy in profaneness. The whole week is sanctified by this day; and according to my care of this, is my blessing on the rest." *

For mildness and peaceable disposition, joined with candour, moderation, and charity, he was singular and exemplary: "in the distracted and distempered times" he lived, he laboured hard for peace among christians. "It was ever the desire of my soul," says he, "even from my first entrance upon the public service of the church, according to my known signature, with Noah's dove, to have brought an olive-branch to the tossed ark; and God knows how sincerely I have endeavoured it: but, if my wings have been too short, and the wind too high for me, to carry it

* Works, vol. vii, pp 254-256.

home, I must content myself with the conscience of my faithful devotions." *

During the time of his presiding over the see of Exeter, for the space of about fourteen years, he was active and vigilant in reforming his numerous clergy, in correcting what was amiss, in promoting piety in general, and in suppressing and discountenancing all violent measures. He never molested any of his clergy for not complying with certain innovations then crept into the church; but, by his mild temper and active influence, succeeded in promoting the "general unanimity and loving correspondence" of his clergy.

The superior manner in which he conducted himself against a host of the most violent assailants of the church, and of episcopal government, entitles him to the gratitude of posterity. Though he survived to see his sacred function proscribed, and his property and means of subsistence taken from him, he stood firm to the last extremity in defence of the church, contending for the best interests of his country. He was "one of the most worthy, able, and learned of the sons" of the Church of England, (as an eminent prelate observes) "who sealed his attachment by little less than martyrdom in her cause." †

* Works, vol. viii, p. 43.

† Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry's Primary Charge, p. 11.

Well might Fuller say that "he may be said to have died with his pen in his hand;" for after he was sequestered and silenced, he wrote and published several useful treatises even in his old age. In order to prepare men for the last change, his last books and his last sermons, as we have before observed, were all upon the *last things*;—*death and judgment, heaven and hell*

His long and useful life furnishes a variety of important incidents, highly interesting, instructive and edifying to the christian world. In his case we find that preferment to the highest dignities in the church had no influence to make him abate of his wonted industry and active zeal in the cause of truth. He has given to the world a good account of his time in his numerous and admirable Works, which have *long praised him in the gate*, and which will be held in due esteem, as long as genuine piety and true devotion command respect among mankind.

He distinguished himself as a wit and a poet at an early period of his life; for when he was about twenty-three years old, in the years 1597, 1598, he published his Satires, under the title of *Virgidemiarum*,* in sixe Bookes. First three Bookes of

* This uncouth and uncommon word signifies a *Gathering*, or *Harvest of Reds*, in reference to the nature of the subject. See WARTON.

Tooth-lesse Satyrs; 1. Poetical; 2. Academicall; 3. Morall; printed by T. Creede, for R. Dexter, 1597. The three last Bookes, of Byting Satyrs, by R. Bradock, for Dexter, 1598. Both parts were reprinted together in 1599, and first part in 1602. Ritson, in his "Bibliographia Poetica," says that "Hall's Satires were stay'd at the press, by order of the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of London; and such copys as could be found were to 'bee presentlye broughte to the bishop of London to bee burnte.'"

These Satires were republished at Oxford in 1753, by the Rev. William Dodd, afterward D.D. or rather by the Rev. William Thompson, M.A. of Queen's college, Oxon,* as Read appears to have suggested to Dr. Farmer. His Satires have certainly conferred upon him a just claim to the appellation of one of the earliest and best satiric poets in England: they have been a model for succeeding English satirists; and though he was not the first who attempted this species of poetry in England, it must be granted that he certainly was the first legitimate satirist of our country. It appears, however, from his Postscript, that he

* This Oxford reprint of Bishop Hall's Satires, in 12mo. is a neat and excellent edition: but the last edition, 1824, 12mo. by Sir W. Singer, with Warton's Illustrations and additional Notes, is the best.

had seen no English satires; and only those of Ariosto and "one base French Satire," of modern writers; therefore, in the opening of his Prologue, he tells us,—

" I first adventure, with fool-hardy might,
To tread the steps of perilous despight:
I first adventure, follow me who list,
And bee the *second* English Satyrist."

He might justly pride himself in having given us the first example of genuine and legitimate satire. Upon the republication of the *Virgidemiarum* at Oxford in 1753, Gray, speaking of Hall's Satires in a Letter to Dr. Warton, says, "They are full of spirit and poetry; as much of the first as Dr. Donne, and far more of the latter."* Dr. Warton also, at the commencement of an elaborate and masterly analysis of, and criticism upon Hall's Satires and poetic genius, which it is to be lamented is only a fragment, in his fourth volume of *The History of English Poetry*, gives the following character of these satires: "They are marked," he observes, "with a classical precision, to which English poetry had yet rarely attained. They are replete with animation of style and sentiment. The indignation of the Satirist is always the result of good sense. Nor are the

* *Mason's Gray*, p. 224.

thorns of severe invective unmixed with the flowers of pure poetry. The characters are delineated in strong and lively colouring, and their discriminations are touched with the masterly traces of genuine humour. The versification is equally energetic and elegant, and the fabric of the couplets approaches to the modern standard. It is no inconsiderable proof of a genius predominating over the general taste of an age, when every preacher was a punster, to have written verses, where laughter was to be raised, and the reader to be entertained with sallies of pleasantry, without quibbles and conceits. His chief fault is obscurity, arising from a remote phraseology, constrained combinations, unfamiliar allusions, elliptical apostrophes, and abruptness of expression. Perhaps some will think that his manner betrays too much of the laborious exactness and pedantic anxiety of the scholar and the student. Ariosto in Italian, and Regnier in French, were now almost the only modern writers of satire; and I believe there had been an English translation of Ariosto's Satires. But Hall's acknowledged patterns are Juvenal and Persius, not without some touches of the urbanity of Horace.* His parodies of these poets, or

* The First Satire of the Third Book strikingly resembles the

rather his adaptations of ancient to modern manners, a mode of imitation not unhappily practised by Oldham, Rochester, and Pope, discover great facility and dexterity of invention. The moral gravity and the censorial declamation of Juvenal, he frequently enlivens with a train of more refined reflection, or adorns with a novelty and variety of images." *

Mr. Campbell is not deficient in a just estimation of the talents of this eminent divine and satirist: "in many instances," says he, "Hall redeems the antiquity of his allusions, by their ingenious adaptation to modern manners: and this is but a small part of his praise; for in the point, and volubility, and vigour of Hall's numbers, we might frequently imagine ourselves perusing Dryden." See *Specimens*, &c. vol. ii, pp. 256-261.

In the third Satire of his fifth Book, Hall exhibits the true design of this kind of poetry; and, as his editor, Mr. Pratt, justly remarks, "laments at the same time, the untempered genius of his age; which, while it encouraged the graces and subdued imagination of classic

Sixth Satire of Juvenal. It exhibits a forcible contrast of the temperance and simplicity of former ages, with the luxury and effeminacy of the Poet's own times.

* Vide Chalmer's English Poets, vol. v, p. 226.

elegance, could not brook its bolder and more nervous efforts." It begins thus :

" The Satyre should be like the porcupine,
That shoots sharp quilles out in each angry line,
And wounds the blushing cheek and fiery eye,
Of him that heares and readeth guiltily.
Ye antique Satyres, how I blesse your daies,
That brook'd your bolder still, their own dispraise ;
And well-neare wish, yet joy my wish is vaine,
I had beene then, or they were now againe !
For now our eares beene of more brittle mold.
Than those dull earthen eares that were of old :
Sith theirs, like anvilles, bore the hammer's head,
Our glasse can never touch unshivered."

His " last Book and Satire is a humorous and ironical recantation of the former satires ; as the author here pretends there can be no just ground for one in such times as his own. In one part he glances at the sorry poets of his time, and makes some terse allusions to poets of a former day. Afterwards, when enumerating some of the festive tales of our ancestors, he gives a close and spirited imitation from Juvenal : and closes the whole by a few remarks on the prevailing dialect of poetry, with a vigour of fancy scarcely rivalled by the finest poets of his time."* The following lines form part of it :

" Was never age I weene so pure as this !
* * * * *

Seeke over all the world, and tell mee where
Thou find'st a proud man, or a flatterer ;

* Sat. I, b. vi. *Note.*

A theefe, a drunkard, or a parricide,
 A lechour, lyer, or what vice beside.
 Marchants are no whit covetous of late,
 Nor make no mart of time, gaine of deceit.
 Patrons are honest now, ore they of old ;
 Can now no benefice be boughte or sold."

The Satires of Hall exhibit a very minute and curious picture of the literature and manners, the follies and vices of his times ; they amply prove the wit, the sagacity, and the elegance of his Muse. Poetry was the occupation merely of his youth ; the vigour and decline of his days were employed in the composition of professional works, calculated by their piety, eloquence, and originality, to promote, in the most powerful manner, the best interests of true religion and morality.*

Though he more particularly exercised his poetical genius in his youthful years, yet at one period he intended to make a poetical version of the Book of Psalms, and signified his intention to his relative, the Rev. Samuel Burton, arch-deacon of Gloucester, and to his friend the Rev. Hugh Cholmley, requesting their judgment of his design, and intimating his readiness to proceed in the work, provided he met with due encouragement from those in authority. He

† Vide Dr. Drake's Shakspeare and his Times, vol. i, part 2, chap. iv, p. 627. Mr. Pope said high things of Hall's Satires. See Granger's Biog. Hist. of England, vol. ii, p. 157, 8vo.

says that he had been solicited by some reverend friends to undertake this task, as well according with the former exercises of his youth and his profession. However, he only proceeded as far as the ten first Psalms: but this specimen shews that he was very capable of the undertaking.*

The prose works of Bishop Hall are written in such a style of eloquence, as justly entitles him to a place amongst our best authors; but the distance of nearly two centuries since he wrote has necessarily occasioned some of his phrases to appear rather obsolete.

A judicious writer of his own times, Sir Henry Wotton, in his letter to Dr. Collins, distinguished him by the name of the English Seneca, for the pureness, plainness, and fulness of his style. He might have proceeded further, and might have denominated him the English Chrysostom. Fuller, in his "Worthies," describes him as "not unhappy at *Controversies*, more happy at *Comments*, very good in his *Characters*, better in his *Sermons*, best of all in his *Meditations*." †

The practical works of Bishop Hall have been always held in great esteem by the Christian world: many of his works are not only eminently

* See his Works, vol. x, p. 259; vii, p. 157.

† Worthies of England, vol. i, p. 566, 4to. ed. 1811.

practical and devotional, but also contain much biblical criticism and general literature.

His CONTEMPLATIONS are acknowledged incomparably excellent and valuable, both for style, criticisms, and genuine piety. In the compilation of these admirable productions, the bishop seems to have consulted all the most eminent commentators and interpreters of the Sacred Writings then extant, and appropriately to have introduced their best remarks and observations in the most pleasing, elegant, yet unaffected and simple manner. Now and then some passages, from the peculiarity of his style, and distance of time, may appear abstruse or obscure to common readers; but a degree of close attention will be well repaid in comprehending his meaning, which will generally be worth some pains to be acquainted with.

His CONTEMPLATIONS, he tells us, are the substance of sermons: "The reader may be pleased to understand, that my manner hath still been, first to pass through all these Divine Histories by way of sermons; and then after, to gather the quintessence of those larger discourses into these forms of meditations which he sees."*

The CONTEMPLATIONS, being the substance and abridgments of the sermons of this eminent

* Bishop Hall's Works, vol. ii, p. 366.

prelate, are not only particularly useful to christian ministers, wherein they will find such a variety of remarks and observations, as cannot fail to afford important assistance for the pulpit, and prove highly edifying to an audience; but, through the divine blessing, they may be very useful and profitable to all serious readers, whose delight and meditation is in the word of God.

The subjects of Bishop Hall, and his manner of treating them, will be approved by christians of all denominations; for none of the low and little bigotry of a party, nothing of the narrow spirit and prejudice of a sect, is to be perceived here. True genuine christianity shines here in its native lustre and simplicity. The truth appears in a beauty, which must captivate the most prejudiced and enslaved to particular sentiments or opinions. His CONTEMPLATIONS are so excellent in their kind, so entertaining, and breathe a spirit of universal benevolence, which is equally averse to bigotry and enthusiasm, and knows no master but Christ, and obeys no law but love.*

The following testimonies to the excellencies of Bishop Hall are highly interesting. The pious and eloquent Hervey, speaking of his Works,

* Dr. Dodd's Preface to his Edition of Bishop Hall's Contemplations, 2 vols. 12mo.

says, " where the reader will find a happy mixture of true *oratory* and sound *divinity*; a rich vein of *fancy*, and a sweet spirit of *piety*; Contemplations upon the Histories of Scripture (which I think are our prelate's master-piece) almost as *entertaining* and *instructive*, as the subjects illustrated are important and wonderful. Notwithstanding a few stiff or antique phrases, I cannot but esteem the works of this author among the most valuable compositions extant in our language." * Dr. Doddridge (a no mean judge) says of his CONTEMPLATIONS, that they " are incomparably valuable for language, criticisms, and devotion;" characterises the bishop as " pious, moderate, and eloquent;" and observes that, " allowing something for the peculiarities of the age in which he lived, he had met with no *devotional writings* on the *historical* part of Scripture, which have generally given him so much entertainment as his, particularly his Contemplations."†

His PARAPHRASE upon the hard texts of the whole scriptures, is highly esteemed: Dr. Doddridge pronounces these expository notes to be

* Hervey's Theron and Aspasio, Dial. viii.—Works, 8vo. Ed. 1797, vol. ii, p. 288. *Note.*

† Doddridge's Lectures on Preaching. His Family Expositor, sec. lxxxv. *Note.*

“very valuable, especially for shewing the spirit and force of many expressions that occur.” Most of them, if not all, are inserted in the valuable commentary of Bishop Mant, and Dr. D'Oyly, published under the sanction and patronage of the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.* The late Rev. Thomas Scott made much use of Bishop Hall's *Contemplations* and notes in his invaluable commentary.

As a PREACHER, Bishop Hall was popular, ingenious, eloquent, and devout. His SERMONS possess uncommon merit: they rank high both for matter and language: even his sermons at court indicate singular faithfulness, and a great benevolence of heart. They are interspersed with interesting anecdotes, brilliant allusions, and happy illustrations. The doctrines which he taught in the pulpit, and in his admirable Works, were the doctrines of Christian verity, contained in the articles and homilies of the church, of which he was so great an ornament. His Works may be well classed among those which give us a fair specimen of the doctrines of the church of England. He was a true and “a dutiful son of the church.” His sentiments were decidedly evangelical, and, as they are discovered in his

* Vide Horne's Introduction, vol. ii, p. 831.

Works, may be considered as a fair and ample exhibition of the doctrines of our church.

HIS MEDITATIONS, may be enumerated among the best of his writings: herein, according to Fuller, he excels. Such appears to have been the habitual piety of his mind, that every object, and the most common occurrence or incident, afforded him a subject or matter for spiritual improvement, or religious and moral application. In this he copied and imitated the example of his Divine Master. The meditations, aphorisms, and maxims of persons remarkable for their learning, wisdom, and piety, have always been considered as ranking high among the most select treasures of literature. Those of Bishop Hall have been esteemed the most valuable, both for the importance of their instruction, spirituality, and the energetic style in which they are written. The following interesting account of Bishop Hall's Meditations is given by the Rev. Robert Hall, the bishop's eldest son: "The expressions of these voluntary and sudden thoughts of his, shall testify how faithfully he is wont to improve those short ends of time, which are stolen from his more important avocations. Thus, methinks, we should still be climbing up in our thoughts, from earth to heaven; and suffer no object to cross us in our way, without some spiritual use and application. Thus it pleased my

Reverend Father, sometimes to recreate himself; whose manner it hath been, when any of these meditations have unsought offered themselves unto him, presently to set them down.”*

“The intent of this labour,” says the bishop himself, “is to put some good thoughts, Reader, into thy mind; such as I hope may not a little further thee on thy journey to heaven. And if, in my labouring thitherward, I shall, through God’s mercy, bee a means of forwarding any soul, but some steps up that steep way, how happy am I! To which purpose, I know no means more effectual, than those Meditations, which conduce to the animation and vigour of Christian practice: it must be true contrition, pure consciences, holy affections, heavenly dispositions, hearty devotions, sound regeneration, faith working by love, an humble walking with God, that shall help us into heaven; and whatsoever may tend to the advancing of any of these gracious works in us, is worthy to be dear and precious.”†

It may be farther said respecting his Meditations, that the remarks and observations contained in them are generally very striking; and throughout they exhibit fervent piety, and much

* Bishop Hall’s Works, vol. vi, p. 104.

† Ibid, p. 245.

originality of thought. It has been said that Bishop Hall seems to have imitated Augustine and Seneca in their style; if that be true, he has done so more particularly in his *Meditations*.

His other devotional writings are equally valuable, spiritual, and edifying: they discover throughout the Christian experience and heavenly-mindedness of the author.

His *EPISTLES* exhibit a pleasing specimen of his spirit and manner: they unfold his mind and heart: and they are particularly interesting for the remarks upon men and things, cases of conscience, and the occurrences of his times:

In his *CONTROVERSIAL* writings he has invariably manifested the charity and moderation of the real Christian: innumerable traces of the benignity and gentleness of his disposition are apparent. He was very zealous against popery, and no less so against those who separated from the church without extreme necessity. He feelingly lamented the divisions of protestants, and wrote some tractates with a view of putting an end to them. The several controversial pieces against those dissenting ministers, quaintly styled *Smectymnus*, "are written in a very handsome, lively, and witty manner: but his adversaries too much distinguished themselves by a peculiar fierceness of spirit, and asperity of language: they wrote with confidence, like persons supported by

the secular arm, and who could depend upon stronger and more irresistible arguments than those upon paper." *

He has composed some treatises and pieces in Latin, which are written in a very elegant, pure, and classical style. Of these, the Sermon intitled "Columba Noæ," and "Inurbanitati Pontificiæ Responsio," were translated by the Rev. Rob. Hall, the bishop's son. But his admirable treatise entitled "Henochismus," carelessly and inaccurately translated by the Rev. Henry Brown, vicar of Nether Sevell, has been revised throughout, and brought nearer to the original by the Rev. Josiah Pratt. But the curious treatise entitled "*Mundus alter et idem*," i. e. *The world different, yet the same*, has never yet been given in a suitable English dress. There has never been but one translation of it by John Healey, a copy of which is now of very rare occurrence. The Rev. Josiah Pratt did intend to give a translation of it, taking the singular and humorous version of Healey as the ground work : "but he found the translator so often degenerating into ribaldry, and the original to require so much delicacy and elucidation, that he abandoned the design ; not without hopes that some person of leisure and ability may be

* Middleton's Biog. Evangel. vol. iii, p. 356.

induced to give this fine piece of irony a suitable English dress." In this singular treatise, Hall, under an agreeable fiction, satirises and ridicules the vicious manners of several nations. It is to be regretted that so excellent a piece of satire and irony should be nearly inaccessible to the English reader.

The Works of Bishop Hall were first collected by the Rev. Josiah Pratt, B.D. and published in ten volumes 8vo, in 1808. This edition is very correctly printed, is arranged and revised with much judgment and accuracy, and is also illustrated with occasional notes, table of contents, glossary, and a copious index to the whole.

The ingenious and acute Dr. Ferriar has excited a degree of attention to the *Contemplations* of Bishop Hall, among critics, by detecting the plagiarisms of Sterne, who has stolen hints and remarks from Hall, Burton, and Rabelais, without any acknowledgment. See Dr. Ferriar's *Illustrations of Sterne*, 8vo.

CHAPTER XIII.

ON PURITANISM.

IT is thought proper here to give a short sketch of the history of Puritanism, and to shew that all who were denominated Puritans from the time of Queen Elizabeth to the usurpation, were not separatists or dissenters from the church of England; but in many instances, true and attached friends of the church. From the account of some historians, it may appear as if all the puritans were dissenters. This was far from being the case: many of the puritans kept in the church to the last; indeed the most eminent of them for learning, piety, and usefulness, did not separate.

Though the reformers were of one faith, yet they were far from agreeing about discipline; while one party was disposed only to withdraw from the church of Rome no further than was necessary to recover the purity of the faith, and the independency of the church, looking upon rites and ceremonies as indifferent, and non-

essential; others were for relinquishing all kinds of rites and ceremonies, and for adopting as a model, the plan of the Genevan church. This latter party separated when the act of Uniformity was rigorously executed in Queen Elizabeth's time.

Many of those, who did separate then, were neither peaceable nor judicious; when they found they could not reduce the church to their own narrow model, they conferred with their friends about a separation from the church, and agreed, "That it was their duty in their present circumstances to break off from the public churches, and to assemble as they had opportunity in private houses, or elsewhere, to worship God in a manner that might not offend against their consciences."

This was the first separation from the church of England; and it was as much owing to the weakness and want of judgment in the separatists, who could believe those things to be sinful, upon which the scriptures were silent, and expected the majority to give way to the humour of a few; as to the rigour and intemperate zeal of the ruling powers in imposing and pressing indifferent rites and ceremonies with too much severity.*

Those, who refused to subscribe the liturgy,

* Warner's Eccles. Hist. of Eng. vol. ii, pp. 436, 437.

ceremonies, and discipline of the church, in the year 1563, and the fifth of Queen Elizabeth, were branded with the name of *Puritans*; because they aimed at a *purer* form of discipline and worship, as they imagined, than that which was yet established.

“But profane mouths,” says Fuller, “quickly improved this *nic-name* therewith on every occasion to abuse pious people, some of them so far from opposing the liturgy, that they endeavoured, according to the instructions thereof in the preparative to the confession, “to accompany the minister with a PURE HEART,” and laboured, as it is in the absolution, for a life PURE and HOLY.*

A puritan, therefore, was not necessarily a *non-conformist*, but one who endeavoured in his devotions to accompany the minister with a PURE heart, and was remarkable and singular for holiness of heart and life. In the reigns of James I. and Charles I. if a man, though a conscientious churchman, kept the sabbath, and frequented sermons, if he maintained family religion, and would neither swear nor get drunk, nor comply with the fashionable vices of the times, he was immediately stigmatized with the name of a *Puritan*.

* Church Hist. b. ix, p. 76.

When the infamous declaration for sports on the Lord's day was published, the clergy and people, who were averse to such profanation of the sabbath, and discountenanced vice and immorality, were branded with the name of *Puritans*; thus it is evident that the term *Puritans*, was a general term of reproach cast on all who *lived soberly, righteously, and godly*; and did not more belong to pious dissenters than to pious churchmen. Every reader of the civil and ecclesiastical history of the period from Queen Elizabeth, to the restoration of Charles II. should keep this in view; for some writers have so represented the puritans as being all dissenters from the church of England. This is a great error, and should be guarded against.

One prominent trait in the character of the puritans, whether churchmen or dissenters, was an adherence to the doctrinal Articles of the church of England, in the sense of the compilers; and also a strong aversion to popery. Many of them became great sufferers for their not complying with some rites and ceremonies urged upon them by the rulers of the church. Though there were men eminent for their piety among the puritans, and were upright, sincere, and genuine christians, yet during the long parliament and the usurpation, many men of bad principles sheltered themselves under the name of *puritans*, with the view of

accomplishing more effectually the ruin of the constitution in church and state.

It must be acknowledged that numbers of the puritan divines sided with the parliament, among whom were some superlatively eminent for literature, as Selden, Lightfoot, Cudworth, Pocock, Witchcots, Arrowsmith; but among all the bishops and clergy who espoused the cause of the king, were also men of the first rank for learning, politeness, piety, and probity of manners, as Usher, Hall, Moreton, Westfield, Brownrigge, Prideaux, Hammond, Saunderson, &c.

We must not presume that all who were called puritans were really pious and good men; for undoubtedly there were among them hypocrites and infamous characters: the best of them were not without their failings, for they were men of like passions and infirmities with others; and while many of them endeavoured to avoid one extreme, they fell into another. The behaviour of many of them was severe and rigid, far removed from the fashionable liberties and vices of the age. But in general they were the most pious and devout people in the land: they were men of prayer, both in secret and public, as well as in their families: their manner of devotion was fervent and solemn, depending on the assistance of the Divine Spirit not only to teach them *how* to pray, but *what* to pray for as they ought.

They had a profound reverence for the holy name of God, and were utterly averse not only to profane swearing, but to "foolish talking and jesting which are not convenient." They were strict observers of the Lord's day, spending the whole of it in acts of public and private devotion. It was the distinguished characteristic of a puritan in those times, to see him going to church twice a day with his bible under his arm. While others were at *plays, interludes, revels, sports, and diversions*, on the Sunday evenings, the puritans with their families were employed in reading the Scriptures, singing psalms, catechizing their children, repeating sermons, and in prayer. Thus the puritans, many of whom were faithful friends of the church, were accustomed to spend the Lord's day. They had also their hours of family devotion on the week days, and considered it their duty to take care of the *souls* as well as the *bodies* of their domestics. They were circumspect as to all excesses in food and raiment; abstemious in lawful diversions; industrious in their respective avocations; honest and exact in their dealings; and solicitous to give every one his own.*

During the troubles of the times on account

* Vide Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. i, p. 512.

of the differences between Charles I. and the parliament, puritanism, in one sense, was productive of much good; the reformation of manners was then very remarkable. The laws against vice and profaneness were so strict, and so vigorously put in execution, that vice was forced to hide itself in corners. The magistrates did their duty in suppressing all kind of games, stage plays, and abuses in public-houses. There was not a play acted on any theatre in England for almost twenty years. Profane swearing, drunkenness, or any kind of debauchery, were not to be heard or seen in the streets. The Lord's day was observed with unusual reverence: the churches were crowded with numerous and attentive hearers, three or four times in the day. The peace officers patrolled the streets of London; and all the public-houses were shut up: there was no travelling on the road, or walking in the fields, except in cases of absolute necessity. Religious *exercises* were set up in private families, as reading the Scriptures, family prayer, repeating sermons, and singing of psalms. This was so general a custom, that, we are told, a person might walk through the city of London on the evening of the Lord's day, without seeing an idle person, or hearing any thing but the voice of prayer or praise from churches and private houses. It is also said, that there was hardly a single

bankruptcy to be heard of in a year; and that even in such a case, the bankrupt had a mark of infamy set upon him that he could never wipe off.

Some historians have described and represented the religion of those times to be no otherwise than hypocrisy and dissimulation; and that a vast portion of people made *the form of godliness* a cloak to iniquity and dishonesty: undoubtedly there was then too much hypocrisy, as there is at all times, and many covered their abominable practices with the cloak of an outward profession of religion.—Most probably hypocrisy and hidden immorality were the prevailing sins of those times. It was the fashion of the day to appear religious; and so, under the mask of religion, the most infamous crimes were committed. But it cannot be denied, that there was a large portion of people, both churchmen and dissenters, who were sincerely religious and devoutly pious.*

Bishop Hall, and others of his order, for their eminent piety, were reproached as being puritanically inclined: so it has always been that the scandal of the cross is perpetually attached to all, whether they hold eminent or humble

* Vide Rushworth, vol. ii, part 3, p. 1. Neal, vol. ii, p. 553. Ibid. 555. vol. iv, pp. 268, 269.

stations in the church of Christ. Real Christians, in the days of Bishop Hall, were denominated *Puritans*, a name derived from *purity*, as it has been before observed: in the present day *EVANGELICAL* is the term of reproach, a name derived from the christian ministers being desirous to do the work of evangelists; see 2 Tim. iv, 5. Though worldly men may give the term *evangelical* to religious persons as a name of reproach, it is certainly an honourable appellation. Another usual name of religious reproach in these days is *Methodist*; a term used at Oxford, and derived from the *method* which some pious students observed in employing their time. The term is now applied to every person of real and sincere piety, and may almost be considered as another term for a christian.*

Many christian ministers of the present day are distinguished and stigmatized by the name of *evangelical*, or *methodistical*, because they adhere closely to the standard of Scripture, of the Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies of our church; and because they make a full proof of their ministry. Had Bishop Hall lived in these days, he would have been held "in great jealousy for too much favour of" *evangelism*, as he was "of

* See Dr. C. Buchanan's Sermons, pp. 58, 59. *Note.*

puritanism;" but Bishop Hall may, with the greatest propriety, be considered as exhibiting in his whole life and writings a fair specimen of what a bishop and a minister of the church of England should be:—he was strictly canonical and consistent—a strenuous maintainer of christian godliness and christian order—a genuine son of the church, who *lived* and *preached* the doctrines of our Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

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**BISHOP HALL'S
LETTERS TO ARCHBISHOP USHER.**

No. I.

**TO THE MOST REVEREND JAMES USHER, ARCHBISHOP
OF ARMAGH.**

GRATULOR vero ex animo, te Antistitum decus, Sancto Ignatio tuo: Gratulor tibi imò, universo orbi Christiano, Ignatium, meritissimò tuum; sed quidem et tuo beneficio nostrum? Gratiorem profecto operam navare Dei Ecclesiæ nullus unquam potuisset quam tantum, tam antiquum sanctumque Apostolicæ προστασίας patronum, ac tam egregium primævæ pietatis exemplar ab injuria temporis vindicando. Inciderat nempe bonus iste viator Hierosolymitanus in Latrones quosdam Hierochuntinos, qui illum non spoliârunt modo, sed miserè etiam penèque ad mortem vulnerârunt; præterierant saucium ac ferè moribundum, nescio quot Parkeri, Coci, Salmasii, alique nuperæ sectæ coryphæi; vestra vero

(molliora uti sunt) viscera tam durâ hominis *αἰσθησῶν* sorte misericorditer commota sunt; vestra unius pietatis (optimi instar Samaritæ) vinum oleumque infudit tam patentibus vulneribus, abstersit saniem, foedèque hiulca plagarum ora, manu tenerâ fasciavit; ferèque exanimem vestro typorum jumento imposuit; ac communi denique Ecclesiæ hospitio, non sine maximis impensis, commendavit. Profecto hoc uno nomine assurgent Amplitudini tuæ boni (quotquot sunt) omnes; manusque tam salutare piis labiis exosculabuntur. Intelligent jam novitiæ paritatis assertores quid illud sit quod tanto molimine usque machinantur, sentientque quàm probe illis cum sanctissimo Martyre, ac celeberrimo Apostolorum Discipulo conveniat. Illud vero, inter Doctissimas Annotationes vestras saliente et corde et oculo legisse me fateor, quo egregium illud *σφάλμα* Salmasianum de tempore suppositicii Ignatii, leni illa quidem, sed castigatrice manu corripueris: Fieri ne potuit ut tantus author in re tanti momenti Chronologicâ, tam foedè laberetur, aut num forte, hoc pacto, (quandoquidem hæc causæ disciplinariæ Arx merito habeatur) dominis suis palpum obtrudere maluit? Quicquid sit, bis Martyrium passus Ignatius noster; tuâ demum operâ Præsul honoratissime, reviviscit; causamque iniquissime jam abdicatæ

παιδαγωγῆς in Ecclesiæ totius foro tam catè agit, ut non pudere non possit hesternæ Disciplinæ astipulatores, tam malè-suscepti, litis injustæ patrocinii. Quod si nullum aliud foret nostræ sententiæ propugnaculum, nobis quidem abundè sufficeret habuisse (συν Θεω) nostræ veritatis patronos, te et Ignatium. Vale Primatum ἀξιωμαστὲ et Ecclesiæ laboranti, et precibus, et operis (quod facis) subvenire perge, et fave,

Cultori tuo, ac malorum tuorum

Socio, et præconi Meritorum,

*E Tuguriolo Nostro Highamensi,
Maii 25, 1647.*

JOS. NORVICENSI.

No. II.

TO THE MOST REVEREND JAMES USHER, ARCHBISHOP
OF ARMAGH.

SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.

GRATÂ admodum et manu et menté accepi heri, Primatum Reverendissime, a manibus Hono-
randi plurimum Episcopi Dunelmensis, literas tuas, sed et donaria longé pretiosissima, libros tuos : Deus bone ! quam elaboratos quam reconditiore literaturâ refertos quos stupebunt exteri, gratulabunturque authori felicitatem hanc et otii et eruditionis : Nostri vero quò tandem non possunt non erubescere, tantum virum neglectui habuisse ? At, O te omni et invidiâ et tyrannide superiorem ; quem diviniior mens supra terrena quæque ita longé extulit, ut ingratissimæ ævi sive incuriam sive contemptum nihil quicquam ad te pertinere sentias : Illud tibi unum curæ est ut bene merearis : Illicet hoc animo resides in obscuro Lincolniensis Hospitii angulo, qui totius

Occidentis Patriarchatu dignissimum te præs-
titisti.

Mihi vero homini pauperculo quid tandem
suppetit quod munificentiae tuæ retribuam? Ex-
ciderat mihi pridem opella quædam, ita quidem
minutula, ut me planè puduerit ejusmodi stre-
nulam tanto pæsuli obtulisse; tandem tamen eo
prorupi audaciæ, ut id facerem: Tu pro singulari
candore tuo ignosces erroribus quibusque sive
scriptiunculæ, sive authoris; qui se

Reverendissimæ Paternitatis vestræ

clientem profitetur devotissimum

*E Tugurio meo Highamensi,
Febr. 26, 1647-8.*

JOS. NORVIC.

No. III.

ARCHBISHOP USHER'S LETTER TO
BISHOP HALL.

TO THE RIGHT REV. JOSEPH HALL, BISHOP OF
NORWICH.

ADMODUM Reverendo in Christo Patri, Fratri-
que charissimo D. Josepho Hallo, Norwicensi
Episcopo.

Quem tui in me amoris et judicii (Antistes
optime) fructum ceperim; Ignatiana Appendix
ista declarabit: ad quam perficiendam, et in
lucem proferendam majorem mihi animum quàm
unquam habuissem, elegantissimas et suavissimas
tuas ad me literas dedisse, non possum non
agnoscere. Cum eâ mitto et de Fidei Symbolis
Diatribam, et de Macedonum atque Asianorum
anno dissertatiunculam; non alio a te æstimandas
pretio, quam quod profectæ sunt à

Fratre tuo amantissimo et
cultore summo

*Lond. vii^{te} Kalend.
Martii, An. MDCLVII.*

JACOBO USSERIO *Armachano.*

No. IV.

TO THE MOST REVEREND JAMES USHER, ARCHBISHOP
OF ARMAGH.

ACCEPI à te pridem, Honorandissime Præsul, munus egregium, teque uno dignum, Annales sacros Veteris Testamenti accuratissimè digestos. Non enim mihi traditum est volumen, quàm oculi mei in tam gratum, diuque expetitum opus irruerint illico, neque se exinde avelli patiuntur.

Obstupui sanè indefessos Labores, industriam incredibilem, reconditissimæ eruditionis monumenta, quæ se istic passim vel supino lectori ultrò objiciunt; Præcipuè vero subito animum mirari felicitatem otii tui, quo inter tam continuam concionum doctissimarum seriem studiis hisce paulò asperioribus, et abstrusissimarum quarumcunque (utpote ex imæ antiquitatis caligine erutarum) historiarum indagini vacare potueris: Hoc fieri non potuisset illicet sine numine mirum in modum et tibi propitio, et Ecclesiæ: in cujus unius gratiam hæc tibi singularia et artium et linguarum charismata tam ubertim collata fuisse,

facile persentisces. Perge porro, Decus præsum, ita et nos beare, et adornare tibi coronam gloriæ sempiternæ: et faxis mirentur posteri tale lumen tam infælici seculo indultum. Expectare nos jubes Chronologicum opus toti Christiano orbi exoptatissimum, sed et Annales, insuper alios: Quid non à tanto autore speremus? Deus modo protrahat tibi dies, ut ævi maturus hinc tandem demigres, seroque in cælum redeas. Misit mihi librum nuper à se editum Christophorus Elderfeldius noster, non, uti fatetur, injussu suo; sane doctum, ac probè elaboratum, et nisi in deploratum incidissimus ævum, non inutilem: Quantum debeo et Authori et Patrono? Habeat suas à me uterque gratias. Ego quod superest Paternitatæ vestræ Reverendissimæ preces meas animitus voveo quin et meipsum.

*E Tuguriolo nostro Highamensi,
In festo Sancti Jacobi
Anno MDCL.*

JOS. NORVICENS.

No. V.

TO THE MOST REVEREND JAMES USHER, ARCHBISHOP
OF ARMAGH.

MOST REVEREND, AND HONOURABLE,

WITH never enow thanks for this precious gift which I receive from your Grace's hand, I have, with no small eagerness and delight, turned over these your learned and accurate *Annals*, wondering not a little at that your indefatigable labour, which you have bestowed upon a work fetched together out of such a world of monuments of antiquity; whereby your Grace hath better merited the title of χαλκευτερος and φιλοπονος, than those on whom it was formerly imposed; but in looking over this admirable pile of history, my curiosity cast me upon the search of two over-famous persons, *Simon Magus*, and *Apolonius Tyanaeus*; the particularities of whose story seem so much to be concerned in the disquisition of that antichrist lately set on foot by

Grotius and Dr. Hammond. I had hoped to have found a just account, both of their times, and their actions, and events, in this your complete collection: which missing of, I have taken the boldness to give this touch of it to your Grace, as being desirous to know, whether you thought good to omit it, upon the opinion of the invalidity of those records, which mention the acts and issue of those two great Juglers; or whether you have pleased to reserve them for some further opportunity of relation. Howsoever, certainly, my Lord, it would give great satisfaction to many, and amongst them, to myself, if by your accurate search, I might understand whether the chronology of *Simon Magus*, his prodigies and affectation of Deity, may well stand with *St. Paul's* prediction of an *ὁ ἀντίχριστος*, as following it in time, after the writing of that second Epistle to the Thessalonians. I must confess, if the times may accord, there may seem to be some probability in casting antichrist upon an age not so far remote from the apostolic, as hath been commonly reputed; since the apostle speaks of it as a thing so near at hand, that the ordinary christians of Thessalonica were well acquainted with the bar of his revelation.

I beseech your Grace to pardon this bold importunity of him, who out of the consciousness

of his deep devotion to you, and his dependence upon your oracular sentence in doubts of this nature, have presumed thus to interrupt your higher thoughts: In the desire and hope whereof, I humbly take leave, and profess myself,

Your Grace's in all Christian

observance and fervent devotion,

Higham, May 1, 1664.

JOS. NORVIC.

No. VI.

BISHOP HALL'S

ATTESTATION TO THE CHARACTER OF THE REV. JOHN
DOWNE, B. D. IN A LETTER TO DR. HACKWELL.

WORTHY DR. HACKWELL,

I DO heartily congratulate to my dead friend and collegian, this your just and noble commemoration. It is much that you have said; but, in this subject, no whit enough. I can second every word of your praises, and can hardly restrain my hand from an additional repetition. How much ingenuity, how much learning and worth, how much sweetness of conversation, how much elegance of expression, how much integrity and holiness, have we lost in that man? No man ever knew him, but must needs say, that one of the brightest stars in our *west* is now set; the excellent parts that were in him, were a fit instance for your learnedly defended position, of the vigour of this last age; whereinto he gave his accurate and witty astipulation. I do much

rejoice, yet, to hear, that we shall be beholden to you for some mitigation of the sorrow of his loss, by preserving alive some of the posthume issue of that gracious and exquisite brain; which, when the world shall see, they shall marvel that such excellencies could lie so close, and shall confess them as much past value as recovery. Besides those skilfull and rare pieces of divinity, tracts, and sermons; I hope (for my old love to those studies) we shall see abroad some excellent monuments of his *Latin* poesy: In which faculty I dare boldly say, few, if any, in our age exceeded him. In his polemical discourses, (some whereof I have by me) how easy is it for any judicious reader to observe the true genius of his renowned uncle, Bishop JEWELL? Such smoothness of style, such sharpness of wit, such interspersions of well-applied reading, such grave and holy urbanity: shortly (for I well foresaw how apt my pen would be to run after you in this pleasing tract of so well-deserved praise) these works shall be as the cloak, which our prophet left behind him in his rapture into heaven. What remains, but that we should look up after him, in a care, and endeavour of readiness for our day; and earnestly pray to our GOD, that as he hath pleased to fetch him away in the chariot of death, so that he will double his spirit on those he hath

thought good to leave yet below : In the mean time, I thank you for the favour of this your grave, seasonable, and worthy sermon, which I desire may be prefixed, as a meet preface, to the published labours of this happy author. Farewell, from your loving friend, and fellow-labourer,

Exon. Palace,
Mar. 22, 1631.

JOS. EXON'.

No. VII.

A LATIN SERMON,

PREACHED

BY THE VERY REV. JOSEPH HALL, D. D.

THEN DEAN OF WORCESTER,

Before the Synod of Dort, Nov. 29, 1618.

xxix Novembris, Die Jovis ante meridiem.

“Habita fuit in Conventu Synodico à Reverendo et Clarissimo, D.
Josepho Hallo Wigorniensi Decano, doctissima atque accuratissima
exhortatio Latina, ex Eccles. Salomonis, c. vii, v. 16. Pro quâ
publicè ei gratiæ sunt actæ.” *Acta Synodi Dordrechtii*, p. 38.

ECCLES. vii, 16.

Ne sis justus nimis, neque sis nimis sapiens.

DE justitia mihi hodie, cum bono Deo, et de sapientia sermo erit. Quid vero occurrere potuit opportunius? De justitia coram æquissimis Reipub. moderatoribus, de sapientia coram amplissima doctissimorum Theologorum Synodo, sed et vice versâ de sapientia in prudentissimorum Ordinum vicariorum consessu; de justitiâ in sanctissimâ coronâ Prophetarum. Nec est quod dubitem ne non aure bibulâ, lubentiq; animo recipiantur ista ab utroq; vestrâ ordine (Nobilissimi Ordinum Deputati, Theologi gravissimi) quæ utrumque ex æquo spectare videbuntur. Justitia se vobis offert primulûm, deque illâ tres miræ profectò clausulæ conveniêre istic, seque oculis auribusque vestris spontè ingerunt: *Justus perit*, ver. 15. *Ne sis justus nimis*, 16. *Non est justus*, 20. Eugê concionatrix anima, quid meditaris? ut è sacro illo ore pugnantes effluant sententiæ, seque uti Cadmæa proles mutuo perimant; dum negat ultima, quod prima asseruit; secunda vetat fieri, quod ultima posse fieri negat?

Si non sit justus, quī potest perire? Quī potest esse quis justus nimis, si justus nemo est? Mi homo, amicæ sunt semper scripturarum lites: utinam tales semper fuissent nostræ. Neque hic opus est Mose aliquo Mediatore, qui fraternitatem inculcet. Pulcherrimè, scilicet, his inter se ultro convenit, ubi tribus clausulis, tria justitiæ genera accommodare libuerit. Justitia absoluta est: sic nemo justus. Justitia inchoata, inque suo genere: sic justus perit. Justitia æquivoca; sic ne sis justus nimis. Ita facilè et nimium justus est, qui justus non est, et qui justus est, perit. Non ergo vel animum adimit justitiæ asseclis summum justitiæ exemplar, dum justum perire ait, vel veram justitiam deprimit, dum nimietatem vetat. Facile quidem omnes deteremur à bono, qui vix ullis seu monitorum seu minarum frænīs nos à malo divelli patimur. Quàm avidè alacriterque omnes arripimus hoc quicquid est consilii! Nempe hoc ægre nobis est, ac si quis febricitanti amico, jamque merum ignem spiranti, poculum frigidæ pleniuserit propinaverit. Perplacet naturæ nostræ libertas, et quicquid hanc sapit, cordi est. Nos quidem onagrorum more (Jobi verbum agnoscitis) per hæc mundi deserta soluti discurremus, nec jugo assueti, nec fræno. Tota religio ligat nobis et mentem et manum. Unde et nomen illi indidit

vetustas, et frænum appinxit in manu inter Theologos nostri seculi Poeta maximus. Nullum non mandatum hami instar est et retinaculi, quo vaga hæc, et in scelus omne solutissima mens coërcetur *σκληρος λόγος* est quicquid jubet. Illud vero imprimis, *Estote perfecti, sicut Pater vester*. Quod Petrus olim de rituum lege, idem caro et sanguis de lege morum: jugum impar cervicibus et Patrum et nostris. Laxare nunc habenas hasce videtur Salomon, et pro blandi alicujus Mitionis more indulgere aliquid parum flagitiosæ licentiæ; *Ne sis justus nimis*. Falleris et hic, quisquis es, Parasite tui. Perditissimæ huic naturæ obblandiri velit sanctus concionator, ut modum imperet veræ sanctimoniam, improbulum ut esse sinat, ut jubeat!—Apagè blasphemiam! dixisset modo, noli justus esse, haberes profectò, quo petulantem hunc animum demulceres. Sed cum ait, *Noli justus esse nimis*, justitiam præcipit, damnat excessum. Excessus justitiæ justitia non est. Ut desit vocabulum quo hoc exprimat, res constat: satis justus nemo potest esse, nedum nimis; etiam dum servat justitiæ modum. Molesta quædam animi pendentis anxietas et *δαιμονία* nomen hoc fortean induit, aut opinio justitiæ. Quot vitia, virtutum titulis insignita vulgo prodeunt, præsertim ubi nota additur excessus? Nimis liberalis, prodigus est: nimium fortis, audax: frugi nimis, avarus. Potius istic pro-

batur *μεσότης* dum *υπερβολή* prohibetur. Ut ubi Paulus immoderatum pro mortuis luctum vetat, moderatum jubet. Imprimis ergo justus esto. Da operam, ut in te iustus sis, ut in Christo. Regula justitiæ lex est, summa legis justitia. Oportet impleri omnem justitiam, inquit verus *αρχετυπος* Melchisedechi. Suum cuique, justus. Vis igitur justus esse? Da Deo timorem, amorem, fidem. Proximo, et suum semper, et aliquando etiam ipsius tuum. Illi enim et tuum cedit: ubi tibi superfluit, ipsi defit. Tibi, quantum et naturæ sufficiat, et personæ. Utinam vero hoc unum addiscere possemus aliquando: utinam hac in parte haud parum peccaretur gravius! Non satis justī sumus, qui justitiam profitemur. Quisque sibi fere totum tribuit, proximo parum, minimum Deo; utrique certe horum, quantulum expediat sibi. Vos appello (viri fratres) testes communis hominum vitæ ac morum, quam perierint penitissime justitia et veritas, a filiis hominum. Quippini et vos æque provocem, (viri Magnates) censores judicesque facinorum, quæ oculos plebeculæ vel spectando fatigarint. Conqueremini licet omnes cum Beato Martyre Cypriano: Flagrant ubique delicta, et passim multiformi genere peccandi, per improbas mentes nocens virus operatur. Quin et innocentia, nec illic ubi defenditur, reservatur. Consensere jura peccatis, et cœpit esse licitum, quod publicum

est. Sed, O si possitis in illâ sublimi speculâ constituti, oculos vestros inserere secretis, recludere cubiculorum obductas fores, et ad conscientiam luminum penetralia occulta reserare, aspiceretis profecto ab impudicis geri, quod aspiciere non possit frons pudica; videretis, quod crimen sit et videre, turpes Aretinismos libidinum, crudas nauseabundæ ebrietatis reliquias. Filii hominum, usque quo gravi corde, quousque diligitis vanitatem et quæritis mendacium? Estote justî satis. Succurrite vos interim laboranti Reipubl. qui sedetis ad clavum, et date operam sedulo, ut grassantibus hominum vitiis, tempestivis aliquando tandem censuris occurratur. Quin claves manu exerit exercetque Ecclesia, quæ gladium oris liberè usque vibraverit? Quin fulminum spiritualium vim omnem ac horrorem sacrum redintegratis, facitisque ut qui Dei Ministros flocci fecerint, ad lictorum vestrorum fascēs contremiscant? Supponitur hoc primum (*justus est!*) sequitur, quod vetatur postmodum, *Ne quid nimis*; seu opinione, seu vero reipsa. Non opinione: facile qui paucillum in se habent justitiæ, intestino quodam fermento suæ *φθαρτίας* effferentur, jamque se plus nimio abundare autumant. Ita justus erat jactator sui Pharisæus, *Gratias tibi, Domine, non sum ut alii*, non ait, ut aliqui: modestiæ fuisset istud, humique repentis ταπεινοφροσύνης. Sunt enim aliqui profecto Dæmones,

humanâ specie larvati, ut vere Hieronymus : sed ut alii, universalis naturam sortitur indefinitus enunciandi modus. Parem cum Pompeio ferre non vult, nedum cum Cæsare superiorem. Jungant vero huic manus (si volunt Pontifici Thrasones, homines sacerrimi, qui legem se ex amussi servare et supererogare demum aliquid se Deo posse jactitant. Illicet hi veri sunt horum temporum, (quos exprobare solent alii) Puritani. Ingenue (quod solet) Espensæus, sunt qui hodiè, status et homines in perfectione justitiæ tantum non æquent Angelis, novæ veteris Pelagianismi reliquiæ. Quâ hæresi, ut nulla vel periculosior vel perniciosior, aut perpetuæ gratiæ Christi recessitati magis contraria, ita nulla vel minus extincta, vel plus rediviva. Sed et suos denique Gratianus, istos probè sugillat, qui si nomen suum, inquit, cognoscere vellent, mundanos se potius quam mundos appellarent. Erigant isti sibi cum Acesio scalam, quâ in cælum ascendant, (monitore Hieronymo) ab irato interim omnis superbiæ vindice, in imum barathrum præcipitandi. Mittamus opinionem. Sunt qui reipsa nimium ambiant justitiæ, idque vel publice, vel privatim. *Publicè*, vel qui ipsum legis rigorem sectantur paulo severiùs in judicando, neglecta interim omnis ~~extremæ~~ ratione: *pessimi amanuenses*, qui leges etiam lacteas sanguine transscribunt. *Carnifices plane legales*, qui dum non tam

in mentem legislatoris, quam in juris apicis intendunt, magistram vitæ, matrem pacis saluberrimam *σοφροσύνην* in ministram mortis iniquè convertunt. Quo referri dicerem, qui sic pœnis fuic solent, ut in aliorum delicta atrocius animadvertant, nisi illud palam esset, nullo graviore morbo sæculum hoc, quam lenitate nimia laborare. Neque tam lenientibus, cutimve blande reducentibus linimentis indiget commune improbitatis ulcus, quam igne et ferro. *Etiam virtus ipsa nimia licentia languescit, quæ moderata coërcione vires perennat, imo reduplicat.* Animosissimus equorum, si semper laxantur fræni, medio itinere deficit: neque jam virgæ respondet satis, nec calcaribus. Siquidem vobis publicæ rei salutis curæ sit, eritis quidem hac in parte justiores. Vel qui sacræ legis interpretes ita se literis ac syllabis maucipio dare solent, ac si (contra quod olim *Tertullianus*) *ratio divina non in medulla esset, sed in superficie.* Ita Scribæ olim et Pharisei, censore Christo. Ita *Origines*, pœnam dans meritò tot allegoriarum, *Eunuchatum plane allegoricum ad literam paulo servilius interpretatus, sibi vim tulit. Qui non minus vim intulerat Scripturæ, virque esse desiit, qui non desiit esse malus interpret.* Ita et Monachus ille olim Evangelium ipsum vendidit, a quo jussus est omnia vendere. Utinam vero Doctores Pontificii immunes se præstarent ab hoc crimine, quibus nimis solenne est cælum terræ

miscere, humanitatem Christi in monstrum, in nihilum redigere potiùs, quam in sacramentali loquendi forma figuram nobiscum admittere velint, qui tamen ipsi multas inibi fateri coguntur. Non infimum est apophthegmatum sapientissimi Regis, quod tamen vulgata Papicolarum versio ridiculum facit, *Emulsor lactis educit butyrum; emunctor nasi educit sanguinem*. Et quid est hoc aliud, quam γαλα ἀδελφῶν *sincerum lac veritatis*, ita nimis agitare ut in butyrum còngelescat: naresque scripturarum adeo graviter comprimere, ut sanguis demum eliciatur. Et horum quidem uterque *nimis justus* est; in sententiis seu ferendis seu interpretandis. Quia et huc revocamus illos malè cautos justitiæ divinæ vindices, qui causam Dei non aliter agendam censent, quam suam. Quasi ille ipse omnis justitiæ et bonitatis fons ac scaturigo immundum fluat, nisi ab istorum puteis humorem petat illicet: vel qui ex alterâ parte prodigiosam justitiam, piisque auribus ne ferendam quidem Deo adfingunt. *O homo, O lutum; sat est: sis tu illi quem te esse voluit: sit tibi ille, quem se fore revelavit.*

Privatus justitiæ excessus sequitur, vel ἐν τῇ ἀπέχειν vel ὑπέχειν ut imitemur Epictetum, sive in evitandis rebus legitimis, quarum nobis usum liberè concessit Deus, sive in agendis suspiciendisque quæ Deus nusquam præscripserit. Illud meticolosæ cujusdam est ac rigidiusculæ anxietas

tis: hoc vero superstitiosæ nimiumque affectatæ sanctimonix. Quæ de utroque horum meditatus eram quam multa prudens omitto, ne nimius sim. Cum instituto nostro conjunctior est paulo quæ de sapientia sequitur oratio. *Ne sis sapiens nimis.* Qui, data optione, sapientiam sibi elegit, et supra quam mortales solent, sortitus est, nimium damnat sapientiæ; *Ecquid melle dulcius?* vere Sampson. *Ne nimium tamen mellis comedito,* prudenter Salomon. Ipse rationis morbus est curiositas, quo vel ad mortem usque laborarunt primi generis humani parentes: nobis quidem ideo hæreditarius cognatusque. Esdras ille supposititius aliud profitetur, aliud præstat. *Non proposui mihi,* inquit, *interrogare de superioribus tuis.* Et tamen eodem loci, *Nunquid plus futurum est, quam præterit?* Sed et bonus ille Dionysius, ita de Angelorum ordinibus (uti nostis) disserit, quasi cum Paulo raptus fuisset in cælum Imo quæ B. Apostolus vidit et conticuit, iste non minus profecto conticuit, quam vidit. Neque defuit alter, qui cœlestium spirituum numerum æquè certo designavit. Quin et Matilda, una è minorum gentium divis, fratris cujusdam rogatu ausa est nimis quidem familiariter sciscitari, quid de anima Sampsonis, quid de Salomonis, Trajani, Origenis, demum fieret. Qui ad pedes Christi diutule sederunt Apostoli, ubi de fidei mysteriis sermo inciderat, audiunt illico, *vobis datum est*

nosse: sed ubi de rebus parum necessariis percontantur, οὐχ' ὑμῶν γινώσκει. Absorptus est ab illa voragine Plinius, quam proprius penitusque voluit intueri. *Et Bethsemitæ, dum sacram Dei sedem læti perlustrant oculis suis, periére.* Scio me jam ulcus tangere hujus ævi, quod tamen faciam levi manu. Liceat mihi, fratres reverendi, coram vobis merito queri, seculum illud prius, nimium ignorantiae perdidisse. O crudeles plane illorum temporum Scribas et Phariseos, *qui claves cælorum sibi servantes, nec intrarint ipsi, nec alios intrare discipientes sustinuerint:* nostrum vero hoc nimio perire sapientiæ. Generosior quidem paulo est iste morbus, sed nihilominus lethalis. Omnes omnia scire volumus; et ne quid forte lateat, etiam in arcanissima De concilia temerè irruimus ac præcipitatur. Date veniam huic parrhesiæ. Et plebem et doctore reos perago hujusce mali. Est sane (nequis nesciat) Theologia duplex, scholastica et popularis. Hæc religionis basin spectare videtur, illa tectorii ipsius formam et ornamenta respicit. Hæc, quæ sciri debent; illa quæ sciri possunt. Hujus cognitio Christianum facit, illius disceptatorem. Vel, si quis mavult, et hæc Theologum facere solet, illa polire. Ut omnes utriusque sententiam ex æquo ambiant, periculi plena res est, et quæ vulgo in summa rerum omnium confusione desinat. Nulla profecto ars est, cujus intima ac secretiora

mysteria non soleant, peculiari quâdam ratione, solis artificibus relinquit. Nemo est quin tantum sibi patrii juris notum esse velit, quantum hæreditati suæ sive adeundæ, sive tutandæ inservire posse putet, qui tamen summos juris apiculos sibi parum disquirendos autumet: hos vero potius consultissimis legum doctoribus lubentissimè remittat. Pari modo fit in medicinâ. Ecquis est, qui non eo usque se Æsculapio in disciplinam tradere velit, ut quid corpori suo noxium, quid valetudini accommodum esse soleat, satis intelligat? qui tamen interim omnes pharmacopœ pixides, herbarum vires, morborum rationes, medendique methodos, susque deque habeat? Quin et hoc idem in artium omnium Domina ac Regina animæ cum jurisprudentia tum medicina, sacrosanctissima Theologia usu venit. Scitu ad salutem necessaria quæquæ imbibant omnes, et licet et juvat. Saturate animas vestras, quotquot estis Ecclesiæ filii, sacris hisce deliciis; subtiliores scholarum argutias, alio ablegaturi. *Τὸ ὑμῖν καὶ μακροῖς αὐτοῖς*; Quanto minus expedit, ut plebeium quodque ingenium summas cæli arces scandat profano pede, ibique sacra Dei penetralia audaci oculo perlustret, deque profundissimis consilii divini arcanis, judicium ferat? Ut quisvis è plebe nautarum bajulorumve, de abditissima prædestinationis ratione, ratiocinari præsumat? Regulam Cossicam in Arithmeticâ dixit nonnemo

prædestinationem in Theologiâ, de quâ doctam quandam ignorantiam fateri non puduit illuminatissimos Ecclesiæ doctores. Etiam rapta in cælum anima clamavit Ω βαβος! Nos vero, breviculâ intellectus nostri ulnulâ decreti divini abyssum metiri audebimus, quæque ipsi Angeli stupent, nos conculcabit? Neque tam plebem incuso istic, quam doctores ipsos, qui hæc tam parum tempestivè populi auribus animisque obgesserint. Imprudenter sane factum, ita hæc abstrusissima mysteria è suggestis palam sonuisse, quasi in iis solis Christianorum res unica constitisset. Quamquam, ut vere dicam, etiam in causis religionis, nemo tenetur secundum ictum expectare. Ferire non licuit, licuit impetum hosticum propulsare. Sed neque tam imprudentia peccatur istic, quam nimio forsân sapientiæ. Duo sunt, si quid ego animadverti, huic Ecclesiæ admodum infesta, nihil enim est cum malis quorundam politicorum artibus negotii, nimium acumen, et hinc orta nimia prophetandi libertas. O mutata haud parum Batavorum ingenia, quibus hebescit jam planè orbis reliquus: dignus ilicet, qui vulgaria consecratur! Hinc fit, ut spreta communi principiorum via, altiores quasdam speculationum semitas, de Ordine, de Numero de Subjecto decreti divini, de Phisica moralive inclinatione, de Actuum habituumque methodo ac discrimine, tanto cum strepitu inire maluistis. Paulo aliter

magnus ille gentium doctor Paulus, qui profecto si revivisceret, spinosam Jesuitarum ac Dominicanorum Theologiam non intelligeret. Nihil ille inter suos scire curavit, præter Jesum Christum eumque crucifixum. Figendæ sunt hic scholis ipsis suæ metæ, quas nefas fuerit transiliisse. Quantum nos, mei fratres, à primigenia illa Christianorum simplicitate defleximus! Sex tantum capitibus constabat Catechismus Apostolicus. Theologia vero hodierna, quæ hominum curiosa mens est, se habet instar quanti, seu mathematici seu physici, divisibilis in semper divisibilia. Illud quidem vere Erasmus, hanc vix finitam quæstionum subinde emergentium decisionumque farraginem, hoc quicquid est turbarum, in Ecclesiâ Dei concitasse. Neque dubitarim ego non neminem scholasticorum, verbis Festi compellare, unâque ad Anticyras relegare. Quos nimium eruditionis ad pessimum usque insanix genus redegerit. At nos, mei fratres, edocti melius, sobriè sapiamus. Hoc est, uno verbo, non supra scriptum, non supra patres. Nos homuli ut progrediamur porro ubi pedem fixerit Deus? Audi caro et sanguis; *Scrutator Majestatis, opprimetur a gloria*. Quindecim sunt, ut Judæi odservant, in totâ scripturâ, loci, singularibus quibusdam intentionis notulis insigniti. Quorum ille et unus, et primus est, *Secreta Deo*. Si nihil quicquam consilii sui nobis innotescere voluisset Deus, prorsus siluisset; si totum, dilu-

cidius profecto ac plenius rationem illius omnem explicuisset. Jam scire nos ista voluit, sed parcius. Quantum scilicet nostræ tenuitatis modulo suæque gloriæ expedire judicavit. Hucusque sapere et sanum et tutum est. Et certe, ut liceat mihi hac de re paulo liberius loqui) quandoquidem nullarum partium homo sum ego, neque adversarium ago, sed monitorem benevolum) judicem esse debere controversiarum Spiritum S. in sacra Scriptura loquentem, nemo est qui ambigat. Quo nempè recurrant fratres de jure hæreditatis contententes, nisi ad Patris testamentum? Gratulabor vero hoc consilii Illustris. Ordinibus, quorum nos decretum huc piè prudenterquè manu duxerit. Neque minùs illud constat, ea Scripturæ loca, quæ quid obscurius, vel transeundo enunciare videntur, ad illustriora, quæque studio rem ipsam tractant exigenda. Sed neque hoc denique a quoquam negari potest, nullum esse paginæ utriusvis locum, qui æquè plene, perspicue, deditæve operâ disquisierit hoc prædestinationis caput, ac celeberrimus ille, qui habetur ad Romanos nono. Agite ergo, viri iudices, si me auditis, jubete, ut pars utraque litigantium, brevem, claram, apertamque, sine fūco, sine ambagibus illius loci paraphrasin Sanctæ Synodo, fraternâ manu exhibeat. Fieri non potest, quin præeunte hac face divina, se veritas piis ingenuisque oculis conspiciendam sit præbitura. Non

supra patres, fidissimos Scripturæ interpretes, lucidissima Ecclesiæ sydera. Sed et rex noster, serenissimus noster rex Jacobus, cujus nomine exultare mihi videtur tota Ecclesia Dei; regum quos sol unquam vidit, post unum Salomonem *θεοδιδάκτωρ*, sapientissimus, in suâ illâ aureâ Epistolâ monuit Illustris. Ordines, nobisque in mandatis dedit, illud totis viribus urgere, illud unum inculcare, ut receptæ hactenus fidei communique et vestræ et aliarum Ecclesiarum confessioni adhærere usque velitis omnes. Quod si feceritis, O felicem Belgicam! O intemeratam Christi sponsam! O rempublicam florentissimam! Navigabit profecto in portu demum hæc afflictata opinionum undis Ecclesia, tempestatesque a maligno illo excitatas, tuto ridebit ac contemnet. Illud vero ut jam tandem fiat, *φιλοτιμεισθε παρχαλειν* Fratres sumus, simus et collegæ. Quid nobis cum illo infami Remonstrantium, contra-Remonstrantium, Calvinianorum, Arminianorum titulo? Christiani sumus, simus et *ισοφυχοι*. Unum corpus sumus, simus et unanimes. Per tremendum illud omnipotentis Dei nomen, per pium blandumque communis matris nostræ gremium, per vestras ipsorum animas, perque sanctissima Jesu Christi Servatoris nostri viscera, pacem ambite, fratres, pacem inite; et ita nos componite, ut seposito omni præjudicio, partiumque studio ac malo affectu, in eadem omnes veritate feliciter

conspiremus. Apage vero vesanam illam prophetandi libertatem, imo licentiam blasphemandi; ut liceat male feriato cuique Tyroni, prodigiosissima cerebri sui phantasmata in apricum producere, et populo commendare et prælo. *Ridente Mauro, nec dolente Judæo!* Quidvis licet, modo hoc liceat: in Scholis quidem philosophicis indultum hoc semper fuit luxuriantibus adolescentum ingeniis, ut liceret se thesibus, paradoxis, doctisque argutationibus exercere; sed ut in SS. Theologiæ veritatis negotio istud obtineat, moliri, audaciæ est plane diabolicæ; et quod merito nobis extorqueat illud prophetæ, "*Obstupescite cæli, confundere O terra. Populus meus deseruit me, fontem vivum, et effodit sibi cisternas, imo puteos immundos, lutulentos.*" Nobiliss. viri, vosque Sancta Synodus, si quis pudor, si qua pietas, reprimite hanc petulantissimam insaniendi libidinem, modum imperate hominum et linguis et calamis. Et facite, ut qui vera sentire nolunt, falsa divulgare non ausint. Ut error hæresisque, si denasci non potest, discat tamen latere, et invisum cælo caput tenebris occultare. Ita ut sola veritas lucem adspiciat, regnet sola; vobis salutem, gloriam Ecclesiæ, Reipub. pacem allatura. Quod utique efficiat ille pacis autor, veritatis Deus, Rex gloriæ, cui triuni Deo, Patri, Filio, Spiritui S. sit omnis laus, honor, gloria, in sæcula sæculorum. AMEN.

No. VIII.

Rustica Academiae *Oxoniensis* nuper reformatæ
descriptio, in visitatione *fanatica* Octobris sexto,
&c. A. D. 1648, cum *Comitiis* ibidem Anno
sequente: et aliis notatu non indignis. Doctore
Alibone nuper *Lincolniæ Oxon.* Authore.

1. RUMORE nuper est delatum
Dum agebamus ruri,
Oxoniam iri reformatam
Ab iis qui dicti *puri*.
2. Decrevi itaque, confestim,
(Obstaculis sublati)
Me Oculatum dare testem
Hujusce novitatis.
3. Ingressus *urbem* juxta morem,
Scrutandi desiderio:
Nil præter maciem, et squalorem,
Fœdissimum comperio.
4. A *Decio* in specum jacti,
Qui tantum dormiêrunt,
Post seculum expergefacti,
Tot mira non viderunt.
5. Erectas illi crebras *cruces*,
Et *templa* conspexêre,
Quæ prisci pietatis duces
Tunc primum construxêre.

6. Nos autem sanctiora nuper
Incidimus in secula,
Qui tollunt ista tanquam *Super-*
Stitionis symbola.
7. Ad Scholas primum me trahebat
Comitiorum Norma,
Queis olim quisq. peragebat
Solenniter *pro formâ*.
8. Expecto *Regios professores*,
Compartière nulli:
Neo illic adsunt *Inceptores*,
Nec *Togæ*, nec *cuculli*.
9. Calcavi *Atrium Quadratum*,
Quo juvenum examen
Confluxit olim; video *pratum*
Quod densum tegit gramen.
10. Adibam lubens *Scholam Musicas*,
Quam *Feminae* et Joci
Ornassent pridem, sed *Tibicines*
Jam nusquam erant loci.
11. Conscendo Orbis illud decus
Bodleio fundatore:
Sed intus erat nullum pecus,
Excepto *Janitore*.
12. Neglectos vidi Libros multos,
Quod minimè mirandum:
Nam inter *Bardos* tot et *Stultos*
There's few cou'd understand 'em.
13. Dominico sequente die,
Ad sacra celebranda,
Ad ædes propero *Mariæ*
Nam *divæ* vox nefanda.
14. Tenebar mox intrandi metu,
Solicitus ut ante:
Sed frustra prorsus, nullo cætu
Introitum negante.

15. Ingressus sedes senioribus
Togatis destinatas :
Videbam *Cocis* et *Sartoribus*
Et *Lixis*, usurpatas.
16. Procancellarius * recens prodit,
Cui satis *literarum*,
Quod vero quisque probus odit,
Est *Conscientiæ parum*.
17. *Procuratores* sine clavibus,
Quærentibus ostendas :
Bedellos novos sine *Stavibus* ;
Res protinus ridendas.
18. Suggestum conscendebat *fungus* †
Insulsa quæq. fundens :
So dull a fool was ne'er among us,
Pulvinar sic *contundens*.
19. Quicquid in buccam evenivit,
Minaci utens dextra,
Boatu magno effutivit
Et nuquam fuit *EXTRA*.
20. Defessus hac *Dulmanitate*,
Decrevi venerandos
Non adhuc pulsos civitate
Amicos visitandos.
21. *Collegium* petii *Animarum*
Nunc proprie sic dictum :
Nam rerum hic corporearum
Vix quicquam est relictum.
22. Hic quæro virum ‡ suavitate
Omnimodo politum :
Responsum alibi ingratis,
CUSTODEM custoditum.

* Dr. *Reynolds*. † Dr. *Stanton*.

‡ Dr. Sheldon postea Cant. Arch. Episc.

23. Ad *Corpus Christi* flecto gressum
 Qua brevitate possum :
 Jurares novis probris pressum
 Et furibus confossum.
24. Ecclesiam Christi susque deque
 Jactatam mox et versam,
 Et sobolem, heu! longe lateque
 Percipimus dispersam.
25. Rogavi ubi sit *Orator* *
 Divinæ plane mentis :
 Pro facinus! incarceratur
 Facundæ decus gentis.
26. Hinc domum peto *præcursoris*,
 Quem triste passum fatum,
 Recentem narrant vi tortoris
 Secundo *decollatum*.
27. Tam Sancto *præsidente* † cadente
 Discipuli recedunt :
 Et *Cæodemone* ‡ regente,
 Nec bibunt jam, nec edunt.
28. Heu! pulchra domus, nuper læta
 Dulcissimis fluentis,
 Nunc *cæno* penitus oppleta
Canalis putrescentis.
29. Adire nolui *Trinitatem*,
 Quam nostis prope stare :
 Hæreticam societatem
 Ne videar damnare.
30. Nam tanta desolatione,
 Quam quis nefandam dicet,
 Occurrunt nusquam tres personæ
 Scruteris usque licet.

* Dr. Hammond.

† Dr. Bayly.

‡ Mr. Channel.

31. Reverso, tristis fertur casus,
Et miserandum offit
Collegii cui *Rubens Nasus*
Præ foribus dat nomen.
32. Dederunt illi Principalem *
Rectores hi severi,
Distortis oculis, et qualem
Natura vult caveri.
33. Mox *Ædes* ingredi conatus
Non unquam senescentes,
Stupescens audio ejulatus
Horrenda sustinentis †
34. Quod dulce nuper domicilium
Ingenuis alendis ;
Nunc merum est ergastulum
Innocuis torquendis.
35. Ad flentem me recipio tandem
Flens ipse *Magdelenam* :
Et gemens video eandem
Vacuitate plenam.
36. Quæ fælix dudum ornatatur
Frequentibus Alumnis,
Quæ suaviter innitebatur
Doctissimis columnis.
37. Num lapsis fulcris queis vigeat
Videres humi stratam :
Et prole densa quâ gaudebat,
En miserè orbatam.
38. Hæ sedes comptiores musæ
Quas habuere sibi
Nunc densis tenebris offusæ
Et *Zim* et *Ozim* ibi. ‡

* Dr. Greenwood Lippus.

† *Mr. Collier* postea *Bedellus* qui tortus fuerat per *Chiliarch* :
lley.

‡ Vide *Isa.* xiii, 21.

39. Pro * præside (cui quemquam parem
Vix ætas nostra dedit)
En vobis stultum *Capularem* †
Ad clavum jam qui sedet.
40. Quam vereor ne diro omine
Septem regrediantur
Dæmonia, divino numine
Quæ quondam pellebantur.
41. Quocunque breviter flectebam,
Aut dirigebam Visum:
Id totum induit quod videbam
Aut lachrimas aut risum.
42. Ingemui, dum viros video
Doctissimos *ejectos*:
Et contra, alternatim rideo,
Stolidulos *suffectos*.
43. O probam reformandi Artem?
Quæ medicina datur?
Quæ curat, ut curamus *partem*
Cum *totum* excindatur.
44. *Quadratos* homines quæ jubet
Et doctos extirpandos;
Et *nebulones* prout lubet
Rotundos surrogandos.
45. *Collegia* petis? *Leges* duras
Habes, nil fas videri,
Præter ædes et structuras;
Scholares abière.
46. Culinas illic frigescentes,
Capellas sine precibus,
In Cellis cernas sitientes,
Et Aulas sive *Messibus*.

* Dr. Oliver.

† Dr. Goodwin, vulgo vocatus Dr. *Nine Caps*.

47. In templis quoevis Conciones,
Aut quicquid est decorum?
Habebis hæsitationes
Extemporaneorum.
48. Interea quid oppidani
With all their quaint devices
Qui novas hasce (male sani)
Exoptavere vices?
49. Erecta *cornua* gerebant,
Dum montes hi parturiunt:
Et nunc fastidiunt, quæ volebant
Et fortitur esuriunt.
50. Heu! ingens rerum ornamentum
Et ævi decus pridem;
Quo tandem pacto hoc perventum,
Ut *idem* non sit *idem*?
51. Nam vix a quoquam quod narratur
Obventum olim Somnio,
Compertum erit si quæeratur
Oxonium in *Oxonio*.

1

No. IX.

DEATH'S ALARUM:

▲

Funeral Sermon

THE RIGHT REVEREND JOSEPH HALL, BISHOP
OF NORWICH.

BY J. WHITEFOOT.

1

TO THE REVEREND HIS MUCH-HONORED FRIEND
ROBERT HALL, D.D.

ELDEST SON TO THE RIGHT REVEREND JOSEPH,
LATE L. B. OF NORWICH.

SIR,

It is an undoubted Canon of the Apostles, That the Elder that rules well, and especially that labours too in the word and doctrine, should be counted worthy of double honour; such an one was your reverend father, by the good report of all men, and of the truth itself. And the double honour that the Apostle allowed him, he was once, by the bounty of his Christian Prince, worthily possessed of; though of late, as we all know, he was muzzled from the enjoyment thereof. But envy itself, (and if there be any thing worse) cannot deprive him of his double honour: one part whereof he hath already enjoyed in his life-time, in the hearts, tongues, and pens of those that lived with him, in this and other nations. The second part remains still due to him, after his death; which he cannot want, whiles there are any living whose tongues are capable of giving a true praise.

This poor piece was designed to that just end; that is, next to the glory of God, to the due honour of his faithful servant. That it is no more worthy of his name, is a

second part of my sorrow, for his death. It contains a short representation of him taken in haste, as all pictures are which are done after the party's death; yet might it have been done nearer to the life, had it not fallen into a very unskilful hand: but besides that, it hath the common disadvantage of all writings, which are but the dead shadows of the living voice; and therefore no marvel, if this wants much of that little grace and vivacity, which it might seem to have in the delivery.

Such as it is, Sir, it was, without consulting my voice, voted to the Press, by them that heard it, and as much desired by them that heard it not, because they heard not of it, till it was past the reach of the ear. And they were neither few, nor slight persons that were much discontented at their absence from the too private Commemoration of so worthy a person, caused by the sudden determination of the time. To give them some satisfaction, I was enforced to yield to the publication of these notes. Whereto I was also encouraged, because promised, by the kind judgements of them that heard them, that they could not but find some good entertainment from most men, for his sake, of whom they represent so willing, though weak, a remembrance. I hope also they may afford some present satisfaction to the many, that justly expect a better account of his Life; which in your name, by whom it is best able to be done, I here presume to promise, in convenient time; and that the rather, because I am not ignorant of your being furnished of some modest and yet remarkable collections thereof, left by his own Pen. I doubt not but that you esteem it a special part of your owne duty, as well as your honour, to follow the straight steps of his industrious and holy life. And to afford the president thereof to the imitation of others, will be a kindness very seasonable in

these evil days. And very useful it may be after many others of the ancient Bishop's lives, now forgotten, than which it is certain there never were any more saint-like, since those of their predecessors the Apostles, towards a demonstration that prelacy, and piety, are not such inconsistent things, as some would make them; and that the men which are of, or for, that order, should not be excluded (as by the monopolizers of that name they now are) from the number of saints; and consequently not debarred from that which is now asserted to be the common interest, and indefesible right of all saints of whatever persuasion; that is the liberty (if not of discipline, yet) of worshiping God, according to their conscience, and the best light of their own understanding.

To conclude: your nearest relation, claims the prime interest in whatsoever shall pretend to your Father's name; and therefore, this, Sir, which is to be reckoned inter parentalia, is with the Author,

Your's at command,

To serve you in the Lord,

*From my Study in St. Peter,
Norwich, Nov. 10, 1656.*

J. W.

1

GENESIS xlvii, 29.

And the time drew nigh that Israel must die.

IN the funeral sermons of the ancients, the person deceased was the only text; and the sermon nothing but an anatomy lecture upon the dead man's life. Should I have imitated that custom upon this occasion, by taking no other text, than that of this saint's life; that which the psalmist saith of the life of man, would, very like, have been the censure of my sermon: namely, that it was but *as a tale that was told*. Ps. xc, 9. But methinks I might have had a sufficient apology for that, not from the custom of the fathers only, but from Scripture itself; a good part whereof is altogether taken up with a narrative of the lives of saints; and those too, not altogether canonical in every line. And we have a saint to speak of, (I think I may presume to say) as eminent an one as some of them.

But yet I hold myself by modern custom obliged to chuse another text, first, or last; and I thought it would do best to give it the prece-

dence; you have heard already what it is, short and plain, agreeable to the design of my discourse upon it, which must be short, because I have another text to take up, when I have done with this; and plain, because that suits best with my own abilities, and the sadness of the occasion. *And the time drew nigh that Israel must die.* So it is in the English paraphrase; for a verbal translation according to the Hebrew text, would run thus: *And the days of Israel drew near to die.* And so our translator renders the same words, 1 Kings ii, 1; Deut. xxxi, 14. But I shall not take upon me to correct the present translation, because it agrees well enough with the sense, and better with the words too, than that of the vulgar latin, as I shall have occasion to shew by and by.

Four things I have to consider in this text: 1. The necessity of Israel's death, *Israel must die.* 2. The time of his death, there was a certain time when Israel must die. 3. The appropinquation of that time, *the time drew nigh.* 4. Israel's foresight, and consideration of the approach of that time. This the vulgar Latin hath distinctly expressed, *Cumque appropinquare cerneret diem mortis suæ, When he saw the day of his death drew nigh.* That *Cerneret*, I confess, is an addition to the words, but not to the sense of the text. For that Israel did foresee and con-

sider the approach of his death, is plainly implied, as the reason why he took such a careful order with his son Joseph, about the place of his burial, as you may read in the words following my text. The like order did Joseph himself give to his sons, about his burial, when he saw his time to die drew nigh. Gen. l, 25, 26 Both of them were very solicitous to be buried in the land of Canaan. *Lyra* thinks it was, because they foresaw, by a spirit of prophecy, that in that country there would be a resurrection of many saints with Christ, when he should rise again, and they hoped to be of the number, and therefore would be buried there. This conceit is scarce so much as probable.

But that reason which the Rabbins give, is a ridiculous absurdity; namely, because there shall be no resurrection at all of any but Jews, and of them only in the land of Canaan; whither all bodies that are not buried there must be rolled through some secret burrows of the earth, from their most distant places of burial, before they can be raised to life:* this fancy is near akin to a multitude more of those men's. But the author to the Hebrews hath told us the true reason of their desires in this point: *By faith Joseph when*

* Buxtorfii Synagoga Jud. c. 1.

he died made mention of the departing of the children of Israel out of Egypt, and gave commandment concerning his bones ; (Heb. xi, 22.) namely, that they should be carried with them into Canaan: thereby declaring his own, and confirming their faith, concerning their deliverance out of the Egyptian thralldom, which for some time they were yet to indure, and their certain possession of the land of promise.

I am now to begin with the first particular fore-mentioned; the death of Israel, and the necessity thereof, *Israel must die*. I told you before the vulgar translator had taken the boldness to put in a word into the text, and that I excused, for its agreement with, and explication of the sense. But I must tell you also, he hath left out another word, instead of that, which cannot so well be excused. For he reads, *Cúmque appropinquare cerneret diem mortis*, leaving out the name of *Israel*, which is found in the original. I am not so great a friend to that translation, as to excuse that presumption, if such it were, and not rather an oversight, left yet uncorrected, in all the copies that I have seen.

The name of Israel is too considerable a word to be left out in the text, whether we respect the person signified by that name, or the signification of the name.

First, consider the person signified by that

name, and you shall find he was as eminent an one, as any that is named in Scripture. And for the signification of the name, you shall hear also, that is very considerable. and so declared by God himself, who both gave the name, and the true interpretation thereof. First, let us a little inquire after the person signified by this name, Israel: who was he? The man was a *Binomius*, one that had two names: his original name was Jacob, and there was a mystery in that name, as you may find, Gen. xxv, 26; Hos. xii, 3. This name of *Israel* was an *agnomen*, an *alias* to the name of Jacob; a new name given him by his godfather the angel, at his confirmation: you may read the story of it, (Gen. xxxii, 28.) *Thy name shall be no more called Jacob, but Israel.* *μεγα και τιμιον ονομα αβλον της ευσεβειας.* Naz. *A great and honorable name given him for a reward of his piety.* So the Lord changed the name of Abram his grandfather, into Abraham. Gen. xvii, 5. And he was the first man in the world, whose name was ever given, or changed by God. And it is well noted, there never was any man received a name immediately from God, but was either an eminent person, or a type of some great and notable matter in the church.

There is no name in Scripture more famous, than that of Israel. *Pererius* puts the question, why the story of Israel's life, is more fully set

forth than any of the Patriarchs: and gives this reason for it; because he was, *totius et solius populi Dei Parens*, the Father of all, and the only people of God, having no other children besides the twelve patriarchs, the heads of the twelve tribes of Israel: which cannot be said either of Abraham or Isaac: for Abraham we know had Ishmael as well as Isaac: and so was not the father of the faithful only, but of the Ishmaelites too. And Isaac had Esau as well as Jacob, and so was father of the Edomites, as well as Israelites; but Jacob was father of the Israelites only: and that ye know in the Old Testament is the common name of the people of God; who are sometimes called the Children of Israel, sometimes Israel, and sometimes Israelites. As we are now called Christians from Christ, so were the people of God of old called Israelites from this Israel. And it is observed, when speech is of the infirmities of the church, she is called Jacob; but when her glory and valour is signified, she is called Israel. Israel had the honour first to receive his name from God himself, and then to give a name to all the people of God; yea, and to God himself too, for he is frequently called *The God of Israel, The Hope of Israel, The Strength of Israel, The Rock of Israel, The King of Israel, The Saviour of Israel*, &c. And Christ is called, *The Holy One*

of Israel, *The Glory of Israel*. Many and glorious things are spoken of this name, too many to be here recounted. The sum of all is comprehended in the words that were put into Moses' mouth, to speak unto Pharaoh, (Exod. iv, 22.) *Thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, thus saith the Lord, Israel is my son, my first-born:* or in that of the prophet, quoted by the apostle, *The Lord said, I have loved Jacob*, (that is Israel,) *and I hated Esau*. Mal. i, 2; Rom. ix, 13. He was the famous instance of God's free and eternal election. One that was sanctified from the womb, and in it, as is thought. *The blessings of Israel prevailed above the blessings of his fathers*. Gen. xlix, 26. Such was the honour of the person signified by this name.

Now for the signification of the name, I find some variety in the opinion of the ancients: some will have it to signify, *Homo videns Deum*, a man seeing God, as Philo, and most of the fathers after him. Some translate it, *Rectus Dei*, a right (or upright) man of God. This signification is oft mentioned, and sometimes approved by S. Hierom. And very true it is, that both these significations of the name will agree very well to the person of Israel; and well enough with the name itself, as it may be written and pointed in Hebrew. Israel was indeed אִשְׂרָאֵל *a man that saw God*, and that oftener than any of the

patriarchs: we have seven or eight of his visions recorded in Scripture, and one of them was then, when he received this name, whereupon he called the place Peniel, (Gen. xxxii, 30.) giving the interpretation, *For I have seen God face to face.*

2. Israel was *Rectus Dei*, a right upright man, אִישׁ חָם & שׁוֹרָא, *Vir simplex*, απλᾶς, in the Sept. απλᾶς, saith Aquila, (Gen. xxv, 27.) a plain downright man: our Saviour alludes to this place, (John i, 47.) where he saith of Nathanael, that he was a *true Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile.*

But the truth is, these are but human conceits of the Etymology of his name. The special and proper signification and reason of this name is given by the angel himself, that gave him that name, (Gen. xxxii, 28.) *Thy name shall be no more called Jacob, (that is, Jacob only,) but Israel; for as a prince hast thou power with God, and with men, and hast prevailed.* This is the true interpretation of his name, *Princeps cum Deo*, a prince with God. He prevailed with God, first for the blessing, and by that blessing he prevailed with men, with Laban, and with Esau, when the one followed, and the other met him with their threatening troops; and prevail he did like a mighty prince with other men too; for *with his sword and his bow*, he conquered from the Amorite, (Gen. xlviii, 22.) that country which he gave to his son Joseph for a possession:

Israel and Jacob too, had both names from striving and from prevailing. The first name Jacob, he received in token that he should prevail over his brother Esau : the second name, Israel, he had in testimony that he had prevailed with God, and he that prevails with God cannot be overcome by men.

But this victorious prince, this famous victor that prevailed both with God and men, was supplanted, was overcome at last by death, as is signified in my text : *Israel must die*, as well as Esau, he whom God *loved*, as well as he that *was hated*. Death is no argument of God's hatred, *Neither death nor life can separate Israel from the love of God*. He that was loved of God before he was born, was no less beloved when he was dead. If any man might have prevailed against death, or been excused from it, one should have thought Israel should : but there is no such privilege belongs to Israel ; no privilege from death, that death which the text speaks of, the death of the body. But in another sense it is true, Israel did prevail over death : death itself, with his sting, was and shall be *swallowed up in victory by him*—the gates of hell did not prevail over him. For the living God is *the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Israel*, (Matt. xxii, 32.) *And God is not the God of the dead*,

but of the living. Israel therefore is not quite dead, but still lives, and shall do for ever.

But for all that, it was true, *Israel must die.* Though the word *must* is not in the original letter, yet it is in the sense: and if there had not been a necessity for Israel to die, we had not been here now to mourn over our Father Israel, that is dead. But why *must*? What necessity was there that Israel must die? The original cause of death we may read in the first mention that is made of death, (Gen. ii, 17.) *The day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die.* Thou, and all thine, (*non uni, sed universitati dicitur moriendo morieris,*) in dying thou shalt die: that is, certainly without remedy. The blasphemous Jews say, Adam and his posterity were therefore condemned to die, because out of his posterity there was a man to come that would make himself a God: many such there were, but they meant it of Christ. Whereas the Scriptures, as well theirs as ours, tell us it was because they would have made themselves gods, listening too ambitiously to the serpent that promised them the preferment, in his *eritis sicut dii*, ye shall be as Gods. But you will say, hath not Christ then redeemed Israel? We trust he hath, nay we are sure of it: as sure as we are that himself the Holy One of Israel, is risen from he dead; so sure we are that Israel is, and

shall be redeemed from death. The soul is redeemed from the gates of hell, and the body shall be redeemed from the grave in due time, by a blessed resurrection, which is called the *redemption of the body*; (Rom. viii, 23.) but for that redemption we must wait till the appointed time come. But is that any privilege of Israel's? Shall not Esau be partaker of that redemption as well as Israel? I answer, no; and yet it is true, (and an heresie in the *Socinians* to deny it) his body shall be raised again from the grave; but that will be no redemption from prison, but a bringing forth to execution. We never read of a wicked man raised from the dead in Scripture, though there be many examples of resurrection in both testaments.

But why might not Israel be excused from dying at all, and so this miraculous redemption of the body be spared? I answer, because the Holy One of Israel, (that was as well the example, as the author of our redemption) was not excused: and we are predestinate to be made conformable to the image of Christ, *that he might be the first-born among many brethren*; (Rom. viii, 29.) conformable to his sufferings, and to his death, *συμμορφούμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ*. Phil. iii, 10. *Obedient*, as he was, so must we be, *unto the death*. Our bodies are not to be made like unto his glorious body, till they be made vile by death as his was.

Israel must die in Egypt, before he can be carried into Canaan. (ver 30.) *Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven.* That the Apostle saith of Israel, is true in another sense than he meant: *All is not Israel, that is of Israel.* Rom. ix, 6. There is an Esau struggling with Jacob whiles we are in the flesh, a body of flesh striving with the spirit, and though it be supplanted by Jacob in the new birth, yet it will not be quite extirpate, till by death we shall be delivered from this body of death. *Cum hac controversia nati sumus* (saith Augustine,) these two twins make a perpetual war in us, and no peace is to be expected till they be parted by death. The nerve of the flesh is shrunk and lamed in the combat with the spirit, but not quite cut asunder; and Israel halts all his lifetime in the flesh: *Non enim est rectipes virtus in corpore mortali*, saith Philo. Divines are of opinion, that in all those that Christ cured of any bodily disease he made a perfect cure, not of that disease only, but of all others, and did *integram corporis sanitatem conferre*; left no relics of infirmity behind him. How true that is, I know not; but sure we are, it is not so in the spiritual cure; the spirits of the just are not made perfect till death. There is a sin that cleaves close to us, that will not be put off till we be unclothed by death. *Israel* therefore

must die, that he may be free from sin. Death came in by sin, and sin goes out by death. So do the sorrows of life by those of death: *We must die once, that we may die unto sin*. It is the only *panacea* or *all-heal*: nothing but the winding-sheet can wipe away all tears from our eyes. A barbarous kind of mercy it was of *Tamberlain*, to cause all the lepers of the country to be put to death, to rid them of their misery: but in God it is a real mercy, as well as justice, to soul and body too, to let men die, to free them from the leprosy of the soul, and the miseries of the body. *Israel must die* that he may rest from his labours, and reap the fruits of them. There is no entering into God's rest, but by this sleep. Job calls man *an hireling*, (chap. xiv, 6.) so doth our Saviour in the parable: (Matt. xx, 1.) and the hireling servant may not betake him to his rest, nor receive his wages till night. When Moses was to die, the Lord bid him first come up, and then die, (Deut. xxxii, 48, 49.) *Ascende et morere*;* but we must first die before we can ascend to the mount of the Lord. There can be no perfect visions of God, but in the night of death: so darkness was before light, and the evening is before the morning.

* Naz. in laud. Basilii.

We can never be perfectly possessed of the glorious liberty of the sons God, till we get out of the prison of the body, and so be as the Psalmist speaks, *free among the dead*. Ps. lxxxviii, 5. ο μακαριτης, was a common *Euphemismus* among the Greeks for a dead man; but it is indeed the proper title of a saint. *Ante obitum nemo*, &c. The spirit, in truth, is never perfectly alive till the body be dead. It is but as it were buried alive in the body. A kind of mortification it is to the soul to live in the body: το σωμα σπμα, *Plato*. It doth neither know nor see itself, whiles it is the flesh.

Death indeed is called sleep usually; but as *Tertullian* excellently shews in his book *De Anima*, it is rather an awaking of the soul, which in the body is asleep, and doth but dream of things, and therefore is grossly mistaken in all its notions. *De oppanso corporis erumpit in apertum ad mēram, et puram, et suam lucem—ut de somno emergens ab imaginibus ad veritates.**

To conclude this point: the bird in the breast can never be perfectly taught to sing its heavenly note of Hallelujah till it gets out of its cage, and be set upon the tree of life, which is in Paradise.

* *Tertullian*, cap. 53.

We have heard of the necessity of Israel's death, and some reasons of it: but what is that to us? What use may we make of this point? why this: it will afford us a double argument to reconcile us to the thoughts of death. The first is that which Elijah used in his petition for death, (1 Kings xix, 4.) *It is enough now, O Lord, take away my life, for I am not better than my fathers.* It is enough to make us content to die, though perhaps not ground enough to warrant us to pray for it, as Elijah did, not without some spice of impatience, as is judged: but to make us content to die, this is *enough*, that *we are not better than our Fathers.* It is a forlorn error to think, that company will abate the misery of the second death; but of the first it may, especially when it is so good. Israel is dead, and so is Isaac, and Abraham, and all the Fathers: and are we better than they? We shall fare no worse than they in dying, if we be their children; and to desire to fare better than any of them, were worse than a vanity. It were too much pride to think ourselves so good as they. And as we are not so good in our lives, so neither is our condition so good as their's whilst we live, but when we die it may, for then we shall *be gathered to our fathers.*

And that is another good argument to reconcile us to death; because thereby we shall be

gathered to our fathers; as is said of Abraham and many others of the holy fathers; so it is said of Israel when he died, he was *gathered to his people*. Gen. xlix, 33. That phrase is primarily meant of the body, which goeth to the grave, *the house appointed for all living*, as Job calls it, chap. xxx, 23. Yet may it be understood of the soul too, which by death is gathered to *αἰῶς*, the congregation-house of souls, or the *World of Souls*: *עולם הנשמות*, as the Hebrews call it. And the souls of God's saints are gathered *πανυψησι καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτόγονων ἐν θρανίῳ ἀπογεγενημένων*. *To the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written (in albo cœlesti) in heaven, and to the spirits of just men made perfect*. Heb. xii, 13, There we shall meet with Abraham, and Isaac, and all the Fathers; with the glorious company of the Apostles, the goodly fellowship of the prophets, and the noble army of martyrs.

Israel rejoiced much for the hopes he had to see his son Joseph, though it were in Egypt: (Gen. xliv, 27, 28.) how much more cause have we to rejoice for the hopes we have to see Israel himself, his, and our Joseph, and all the rest of our fathers and brethren in the heavenly Canaan, and to see the Holy One of Israel, the glory of Israel, the Lord Jesus.

When the disciples saw but two of the fathers with Christ on Mount Tabor, covered with a

slight veil of glory, such as their bodily eyes were capable of, they were so ravished with the sight, that they said, it was *good being there*, (Matt. xvii, 4.) and would therefore have been *building tabernacles* there to dwell, and yet themselves were but mere spectators of that glory; they were not transfigured: how much better will that Being be, where we shall not only be with Christ where he is, and behold his glory, as he prayed for us: (John xvii, 14.) and that with *open face* too, as St. Paul speaks, but shall be changed into the same image, from glory to glory. 2 Cor. iii, 18.

Christ is said to be *with us* here, (Matt. xxviii, 29.) but we are never said to be with him in this world: he is with us by his Spirit here, but we shall be with him by our spirits when we die. *Esse Christum cum Paulo magna securitas; esse Paulum cum Christo summa felicitas.* Bernard. Christ's presence with us by his Spirit is a great comfort to ours, but the height of glory is for us to be with him.

When Israel had seen the face of Joseph, he was content to die. Gen. xlv, 30. *Now let me die, since I have seen thy face.* And old Simeon, when he had seen Christ in the temple, sings his own requiem, *Nunc dimittis,—Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.* Luke ii, 29. And have not we

as good reason to be willing, at least with our dismissal, that so we may come to see him, and his (that is, our own) salvation? Israel must die, that he may fully make good the first-mentioned signification of his name, that he may *see God*; for the beatifical vision can never be, till death hath closed the bodily eyes. It was a speech of the heathen orator, in his Book *De Senectute*, that he was much taken with a desire to see the Roman patriots, that were dead, whom he loved and honoured; and not them only whom he had seen and known before, but those that he had read and heard of.* How much more reason have we to desire to see our fathers, and holy friends, with all the eminent saints of God, that we have read, and heard of; to see them, I say, in such a state of glory as he never dreamed of? *Præstolatur nos Ecclesia Primitivorum, desiderant nos Sancti, expectant nos Justi, &c.* They expect us, saith the devout Abbot of Claraval, It is part of their hopeful desires to see us, and bid us welcome; and shall we then be unwilling to go to them, that so kindly long and wait for us? We find in the Old Testament many of the saints singing *Loth to depart*, and deprecating

* Equidem efferor studio patres vestros, quos colui et dilexi videndi. Neque vero eos solum convenire aveo quos ipse cognovi, sed illos etiam de quibus audiivi et legi. *Cic de Sen.*

their threatened dissolutions; which some think was, because the promise of eternal life was but obscurely known to them: the sight of heaven clouded from them, as the type of it in the temple was hidden from the people by the veil: but this cloud is cleared up by the gospel, and Moses' veil is taken away, Christ hath *brought life and immortality to light*. 2 Tim. i, 10. It becomes not Christians therefore to retain the Old Testament spirit still to shrink at the sight of death, but to be ready to say as St. Paul did, *I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, which is, πολλῶν μάλλον κρείσσον, far better*. The phrase looks like a Solecism in the Greek, but we should not have gone about to mend it in English, by abating the sense, in giving but one adverb for two; *very far or very much better*, the words signify.

What long and tedious journeys have many a devout Pilgrim taken, to see nothing but the old land of Canaan, now turned into Ægypt; the place where sometimes the Fathers lived and died, but so long since, that their very graves are buried, and not to be found.

To conclude this point:

Brethren, let us but be sure we are true Israelites indeed, in faith and holiness, and then never let us fear death.

II. I have done with the first point, *Israel's death*, with the necessity, reason, and use of it. The second follows; and that is, the time of Israel's death. The royal preacher, (Eccles. iii, 1.) saith, *To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven;* and then by way of induction sets down a large catalogue of things that have their time here below. I may call it his *Fasciculus temporum*, as an old author calls his book: all his instances are no other than the ordinary changes of an earthly life. And it is well noted by St. Ambrose upon the first verse, where he saith, that *there is a time for every thing under the heaven:* that all things under heaven are temporal, and by consequence, mutable. But the Psalmist saith, *The heavens themselves shall be changed.* Ps. cii, 26. He means those visible heavens: the sun itself, and the stars that are above it, as well as all things under it, shall be changed. But in the heaven of heavens there will be no change, because no such thing as time will be there: all is eternal in heaven: but under heaven all things have their time. The lowest story of the heavens, by the philosophers' account, is that of the moon, which is the common emblem of mutability: and if you count the particulars of Solomon's changes in that chapter, you shall find just as many as are the days in a

common lunar month, twenty-eight, and all of them like the changes of the moon, nothing but increasing and decreasing. The whole set of his changes is drawn chequerwise, by a just division of white and black, good and evil things, after the pattern that God gave when he first set the division of times, by dividing of light from darkness, and making each day to divide itself into an evening and a morning : and the first instance that Solomon gives of his temporalities, is that of the morning and evening of man's life : *a time to be born, and a time to die.* The primitive Christians confounded the distinction of these two times, by calling the days of their martyr's deaths their *Natalitia*, or birth-days. And the holy preacher, (chap. vii, 1.) prefers the time of death before that of birth : the coffin before the cradle. And though that be a paradox, as some other things are, which he there adds, yet it is no Paralogy in reason; but so evidently true, as some mere naturalists have found reason to grant it; else would not the Thracians have wept at their births, and rejoiced at their funerals. I have no leisure now to unriddle that paradox : but in the mean time it is certain there is a *time to die*, as sure as a *time to be born*; nay, more sure indeed; never man was born, but either is dead, or must die; except some one or two, Enoch and Elias, that were privileged by miracle;

and that privilege, said Tertullian, was but a reprieve or a suspension for a time, till Antichrist comes, and then they must be slain for the *two witnesses*, spoken of by St. John, Rev. xi, 7. But St. Paul hath given us another exception; namely, of all those which shall be found alive at the resurrection, when the Lord Jesus shall come again *to judge both the quick and the dead*: that is, not the righteous that lived by faith, and the wicked that died in their sins, as Augustine and Chrysostome allegorize the words; nor yet the immortal soul, and the mortal body, as Theophylact glosseth the text: but as St. Paul interprets, those that are *alive at his coming*, and those that shall be dead before. 1 Thess. iv, 15, 17. *For we shall not all sleep, but we all shall be changed.* 1 Cor. xv, 52. The vulgar latin denies that change, and therefore hath strangely changed the text, as may be seen. The Pontificians will not admit their exemption from death: and we shall not now dispute the point. But with these exceptions, and possibly some few others not recorded in Scripture, it is certain never man was born, nor shall be, but had, or must have, a time to die. But many an one hath found a time to die that never was born: their time to die having prevented their time to be born. Many have been seen dead, that never were seen alive; and many are dead that never were seen at all. It is

too plain a point to spend time upon: if Israel must die, he must have a time for it. But whether that time were certain and fixed, or not, is a solemn question;* large and learned debates are made about it, and strong contests between the physician and the divine. The question is not to be resolved from this text, and I have now no leisure to look into many others: but seeing *the hairs of our head are numbered*, it is more than probable so are the days, yea the hours, and minutes of our lives. A sparrow falls not to the ground without God's Providence, much less doth a man. The great world hath its last day set and certain to him that made it: so sure hath every little world; *but of that day and hour knoweth no man*. But certain it is, to God nothing is uncertain: the doctrine of his prescience (except with the Socinians, we will deny the universal extent of it) will demonstrate the truth in this question, in the affirmative: for that which is not certain, cannot be certainly foreseen. Yet will it not follow that this event, and all things else, are absolutely necessary, by a fatal connexion, or necessary operation and efficacy of their particular causes, according to the opinion of the new Stoic, to whom I can

* Beverovitijs de termino vitæ.

allow the name of a philosopher,* but not of a Christian, till he hath recanted his Leviathan of heresies: wherein he allows men the liberty of an express denial of Christ, if the infidel magistrate commands it:† so making all martyrs rebels to their princes, and murderers of themselves. The man is no professed Turk, (thank a christian magistrate) but hath told us in effect he would be so, as well in other points as that of his fatality, if his prince would have him: for the *Alcoran* with the civil sanction, is by his doctrine as canonical as the Gospel. Whether it be certain which *Cajetan* and *Alvarez* have resolved, namely, that to comprehend how the decrees and concurrence of God's will, doth agree with the liberty of man's will; (whereupon the time of death seems much to depend) is above the understanding of any man in this life, I well know not: but I am willing to confess it is above mine. Above my understanding I say it is, so are divers other mysteries of our religion, but I thank God not above my faith. For this I believe, that neither God's prescience, nor his decrees, do infer, much less cause any necessity in the manner of the production of their objects: because God hath decreed, and therefore foreseen that many things

* Mr. T. H.

† Pag. 271.

shall not be necessarily but contingently, and yet certainly produced.

But to turn to the prefixed parts of my discourse. We have dispatched two of them,—*The necessity of Israel's death, and the time of it*: two more are remaining, wherein I must be brief.

The next is the appropinquation of the time; *The time drew nigh, or the days drew nigh, that Israel must die*. When Pharaoh asked him how old he was, (ver. 9.) he told him, *his days were few*, and spake it not in reference only to the time past of his life, but, as he is commonly understood with respect to the whole expected term thereof; and that being so, the time of his death could never be far off. Indeed nothing can be far off, that is within the bounds of time: much less can the day of death be so, in a life that is short; and such is the longest mortal life. Israel's days were few in comparison of the days of his fathers, as he interprets himself, yet were they as many again as the ordinary number of man's days, by Moses's reckoning: for Israel lived one hundred and forty-seven years, as you may read in the verse before my text: and *the days of our years*, saith Moses, (Ps. xc, 10.) *are but seventy years*, and scarce the seventieth person lives so long; and yet Moses himself lived almost twice as long, and so did his brother Aaron, but they were extraordinaries.

The life of man in Scripture is usually reckoned by days, which are the shortest natural divisions of time ; and sometimes it is called but one day: and the longest mortal life that ever was, came short of one day, by God's account, to whom *a thousand years are but as one day*. And now he that lives longest, seldom attains to one hour, or the twelfth part of such a day. The known shortness of life, set forth in Scripture by a multitude of similitudes, is demonstration enough to any man, that his time to die draws nigh. But that is a comparative word admitting of many degrees: in a short way the end is always near, but grows nearer the more steps a man hath set in it. So was it with Israel, he had multiplied his steps till he was come to the stage that David spake of, (1 Sam. xx, 3.) *There is but a step between me and death*.

The time drew nigh that Israel must die; now when he spake to Joseph about his burial, as followeth in the verse: but how nigh we know not precisely, no more perhaps did he. All the Astrologers in Ægypt could not precisely tell him the day and hour of his death: yet have we a company of gypsies of that profession, that will pretend to do it. But they are well confuted by S. Augustine,* from the example of

* De Civit. Dei. l. 5.

these twins, Jacob and Esau, whose birthtime was as near, as in nature it was possible: for Esau was not quite born before Jacob; Jacob's hand was born before Esau's foot: and yet we know the disposition of their bodies, and of their minds, with the manner of their lives, was as contrary, as if they had been born under the most opposite horoscopes that are in the whole sphere of heaven. Moses was brought up in all the wisdom and learning of *Ægypt*, (as St. Stephen saith, Acts vii, 22.) that is, in the sciences of Physic and Astrology, the most famous learning of *Ægypt*; and yet could he not number his own days, but prays to God in his Psalm to teach him that art. Ps. xc, 12. Nor did he desire to know the precise number of his days, but only the wisdom to consider the paucity of them, so as to improve them to the honor of God, and the good of himself and his church. To know the just time of our death, is not possible without a revelation; and therefore not to be desired without presumption. It is a thing that depends much upon the arbitrary acts of the will of both a man's self, and of others (as constant experience teacheth) the knowledge whereof is the peculiar property of Omniscience: and therefore for men to pretend to this knowledge from the stars is an impiety, not much less than that of worshipping them, being a bold

intrusion into the most peculiar and essential privilege of divine knowledge. It is enough for us to know as much as Israel did, that our time to die draws nigh, and so much every man doth know, that knows any thing at all.

Lyra thinks Israel did know the precise time of his death by a spirit of prophecy: and such a spirit we know he had, about that time especially when his time to die drew nigh; as appeared by the prophetical blessings which he then gave to his sons. But to know that his time to die was nigh, he needed no prophetic spirit now, when he was an old man, and bed-ridden, as you may find in the end of the chapter, ver. 31. Well might he tell that his few days were almost spent, when his *evil days* (as Solomon calls them, Eccles. xii, 1.) *were come*, and the years did not draw near, but were upon him, wherein he might say, *I have no pleasure in them. The sun and the light, the moon and the stars, were darkened.* All the faculties of his soul and body were weakened. *The keepers of the house trembled, and the strong men bowed themselves.* His arms were so weak that he could scarce strengthen them to lay them upon the heads of his nephews, to bless them; and his legs could no longer bear his body, so that he was fain to lie by it. *They that looked out of the windows* (which some understand of glass windows or

spectacles) *were darkened*. His eyes were dim with age; and when a man comes to that once, that he is almost blind with age, he cannot but see that his time to die draws nigh. A man needs not to be told his lamp is nigh out, when he sees and feels that the oil is spent, and knows there is no more to be bought; το δε παλαιωμενον και γηρασκον, εἰς αφανισμῳ, Heb. viii, 13.

There are many warnings of death, in diseases of the body, perils and troubles of life, such as David met withal, when he said, *My soul is full of troubles, and my life draws near to the grave*. Ps. lxxxviii, 3. And some extraordinary warnings we read of, which some have had from God himself. Such as Moses, Aaron, and Hezekiah had; and the rich fool in the Gospel, *Stulte, hac nocte; Thou fool, this night shall thy soul be required of thee*. In human story there are multitudes of examples of them, that have had warnings, predictions, presages, and omens of approaching death, especially great persons: the Historian* hath some of them almost in every one of his Twelve Cæsars. But few men were ever the wiser or the better for such uncertain, and for the most part unregarded warnings. There is no warning so infallible as that of old age; all

* Suetonius.

others may prove but false alarms, useful to awaken men out of security, and move them to make ready: but when the old man comes once, especially that same τυμβοκηρῶν, *Silicernium*, when he comes upon crutches, when he is blind and led, he brings certain tidings that death is at hand.

There are many affirmative signs of the nearness of death, that are certain, and old age is one of them: but negative signs there are none, that is, to shew that it is not near. A young man doth not, cannot know, but that his time to die may be nigh, but an old man knows it is so.

Life in Scripture is sometimes compared to a shadow, so is death too; and the heathen poet made it less, but the *dream of a shadow*, and that but of *smoak*.* Now shadows we know are not all of a length, some are longer and some are shorter, as life also is. But the longer the shadow is, the more like, and the more near, to night. Jer. vi, 4. *Longiores factæ sunt umbræ vesperi*. Life is a vanishing shadow at all times, but the longer it is, the nearer is the night of death. Indeed our present life in the flesh is but the shadow of life to the soul, darkened as now it is *oppanso corporis*,† (Tertullian's word) with the

* Σκίας ὄναρ ἀνδρῶπος. *Pindar*. Καὶ πῖσεν ἡδὲν μάλλον ἢ καπνισκία *Æschylus*.

† Τίςδ' οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν ἐστὶ καίθαιεν, τὸ καίθαιεν δὲ ζῆν. *Euripid*.

opacity of the body. The Greek tragedian could not tell whether it should be called life or no. The ghosts or spirits of men when they are out of the body are usually called *umbræ*, shadows, and that most like because of their incorporeity; but so termed they are too, from the imaginary configuration with the body, which in visions they have appeared to have, and which *Tertullian* and *Irenæus* (upon the parable of Lazarus and Dives,) thought they really have. In which respect they are also called *εἰδῶλα παμνίων*, in *Homer*, as images of the body; and that they are not altogether incorporeal themselves, but have a kind of *αυγοειδὲς σῶμα*, a splendid or lucid body, hath been the opinion of some divines, as well as philosophers. We use to compare old thin bodies to ghosts and shadows in common speech; and so not the old man himself, but every body that meets him, knows that his time to die draws nigh. Other men may see it, but himself must needs feel the cold-numbered hands of death coming upon him, before they give the fatal gripe.

Thus Israel knew that his time drew nigh that he must die. So doth every old man, and every young one too; but every one doth not consider it as Israel did. That is the last point in my method; Israel's foresight or consideration of the appropinquation of death. This I told you I

would note from the word *cerneret* in the vulgar latin, because it agrees well with the sense, though it be not in the original text. *To see death* in Scripture phrase is to die: but in strictness of sense death cannot be seen, because it is nothing but darkness; and when it comes, it doth not only close, but put out the eyes. The *Angel of Death*, as the Jews call it, is invisible: but though it be so to bodily sense, yet is there a reasonable theory to be had of death, and nothing more unreasonable than not to foresee it. That old prayer in the LITANY is without exception in the Latin phrase, *A morte improvisa libera nos Domine*. He that doth not foresee death, cannot be provided for it; and he that is not, must needs be eternally undone by it.

We complain all, of shortness of life, and need not hear so often of the physician's aphorism, or the rabbin's sentence, to persuade the truth of it: and yet so little do we consider it, that we spend it as prodigally, as if it were too long, as indeed it is, for them that abuse it. And who almost doth not? * The time we have is not so little, as that we lose is much: we commonly use it as if we knew not what to do with it, and therefore we throw away the best part of it.

* Non parum temporis habemus, sed multum perdimus. Sen.

What large shares of it do we squander away upon vain and idle company, and trifle away upon foolish mirth, miscalled recreations, vain and worse pastimes, balls and revels, drolleries, and amorous courtships? What a great deal of it do we let the world steal from us, besides all that is necessarily due to it? How great a part of it do we suffer the devil to run away with? How many of our few days do we utterly waste in doing nothing, or worse than nothing? And is it not justice then in God to afford but a short allowance of that, which he sees, is and will be so much abused to his own dishonour, and the hurt of the unhappy possessors? Nay, is it not mercy indeed, rather than justice, to shorten their days, that will make no other use of them than to their eternal ruin? And how few are they that make any better improvement of their time? Such *Abaddons* and *Apollyons* men are of their time, and therein of their own souls.

No time is long enough to bewail, nor words enough, or sharp enough, to reprove the wretched waste that is made of this invaluable treasure, which so many men spend only to *treasure up wrath against the day of wrath*. It is a dreadful thing to say, but more dreadful to see, that the main business that many men spend their lives in, is scarce any other, or better, than such as tends to the assuring of their everlasting death, and

the certain prevention of that life, which only is long. Oh that men should be so caively disposed, so malicious to their own souls, and so kind to the devil !

Who knows not that it is as impossible to secure his life for one day, while he enjoys it, as it is to recover it for another, when it is once lost ? And who will not grant that his end may be nearer than the end of the present day ? and yet where is the man that will be persuaded to consider how near his time to die is, or may be ? Every man puts it far off, few are willing to hear of the approach of it, at any hand. When the physician tells men that death is near, many are not willing to believe him. But for the Divine's warning, who hath regarded it ? Did men regard the admonition of the divine, concerning the approach of death, they should not be so much troubled at the physician's warning.

Did the old man consider, as well as know, that his time to die draws nigh, one would think he could not, in despite of his own reason, be such a sot, as still to dote so much upon the world, to carp and care to load himself with a *viaticum* of thick clay, when his journey is at an end : to fraught his old leaking vessel, when he is either in sight of his port, or splitting upon the sands ? Nay, did the young man consider how near his time to die may be, he would think

it no such unseasonable counsel that Solomon gives him, *To remember his Creator in the days of his youth, before the evil days* (of old age) *come*, which perhaps shall never come: perhaps, did I say? nay, it is very great odds they shall not! Say thou wantest yet forty years or more of the seventy, it is more than forty to one thou never comest at that number. What is the reason that men generally do so wilfully and obstinately neglect the great business of working out their own salvation? That they do so slight and vilify their spiritual and eternal interest, as if it were a matter of no valuable concernment: a sin which no pagan can parallel, nay, which the devil himself cannot be guilty of, and perhaps would not, if he might be so happy as to be but once more tried. What is the reason men do so little regard that word of God, which is *able to make them wise unto salvation*, as either not to hear it at all, or with so little affection, as if it were no more than a good fashionable piece of religious invention? What is the reason we can prevail no more with men, by all our pressed exhortations, admonitions, public and private, to forsake their sins, by a sincere repentance, and thorough reformation, to make good that solemn vow which they made in baptism, to be christians indeed, and not to deceive their own souls with a mistaken notion of a mere fruitless, ineffectual

pretence or presumption of faith? What is the reason men are so inexorable to the practice of an holy life, without which (we tell them from Scripture, and they do not, cannot deny it,) it is as impossible for them to be saved, as it is for God to lie? Heb. xii, 14. Is not this the common reason of all this damnable obstinacy, and worse than diabolical wretchedness? Namely, because men will not believe or consider that their time to die draws nigh. As much as Atheism is now increased in this nation, by the *Antiperistasis* of a pretended reformation, I am yet confident the absolute infidels are much the fewest in number. Most men do yet retain an opinion at least of the verity of the Scriptures, and of the common doctrines of a judgment to come, after this life, of the happiness of heaven, and of the contrary miseries of hell: and therefore are presumable to intend some better care of their own souls, than they seem yet to have. But a pernicious presumption of the duration of life is that which invincibly hardens them against all exhortations to a present repentance. Such is the lamentable dotage, stupid, and stupendous irrationality of men in this point, as no tongue can express.

I will yet close with a few words of exhortation: though I have already expressed my little experience, or hopes of success therein. Since

Israel (the best men) must die, let us make much of them whilst they live, and labour to get as much of their blessings as we can before they be gone.

And since we all must find a time to die, Oh! let us be careful to find a time to live: and let us not make our lives short, by not living till we be ready to die. Seeing we know our time to die is nigh, let us not be so mad as to put it far off. Take heed of setting death at a far distance, lest we be fatally deceived, as millions have been to their eternal perdition. Oh! let the time past of our lives suffice us to have wrought the will of the flesh, and let us no longer live the rest of our time after the lust of men, but after the will of God. Oh! let us be so wise as to redeem the time, seeing our days have been so many and evil, and are now so few.

What a desperate wretched thing it is to put off the time of repentance still, when our time to die is so near! To trust upon to-morrow, when we cannot call this whole day our own without a revelation. To leave the great work to do till night, when our Saviour hath told us, *no man can work*.

Never man repented him of repenting too soon; but every true penitent, as well as St. Augustine, will heartily bewail, and confess with shame his

deferring of it too long, though it hath been but for a few years in his youth.

It may be in some sense true, which some divines will scarce acknowledge, that it can never be too late to repent: but it is much more evident, and more safe to consider, that it can never be too soon. It is a very great folly (and fault too) in them that have estates to defer the making of their wills, till the time to die draws so nigh, that either they can make none, or no other than such as may be questioned whether it was their's or no: so hath many a man undone the greatest part of his posterity, by leaving them under a violent temptation of hazarding their souls to provide for their bodies. But infinitely more desperate is their adventure, that defer the disposing of their souls till the same straits of time: hereby many a forlorn soul have been utterly prevented of any possibility of repentance, by the sudden loss either of life or understanding; and many more infinitely hazarded, by being able at last to act that one thing necessary, after no better fashion than such as is extremely doubtful, whether it be to any purpose. Yet is this the epidemical madness of men, to be as unwilling to dispose of their souls, as of their estates, till they see or fear they can keep neither any longer: and then in their wills (but scarce

with them) they make a formal bequest of both together. And if God had no more right to the one, than men have to the other, this practice were tolerable: but considering God's interest in the soul, which ought ever to have been devoted to his service, for men to give it or sell it to the world, or the devil all their life-time; and then at last (in an hypocritical imitation of our blessed Lord, and his first martyr's last words, to bequeath it to God, is no other than a wicked sacrilege, under such a possibility only of pardon, as remains for *the sin unto death*, that St. John speaks of.

Two or three serious and sad considerations I have to propound by way of query to him that defers his repentance till his time to die draws nigh:—1. Whether it be not a direct mocking of God, and of a man's own reason, to resolve to continue in a course of sin, with a purpose to repent of it at last? Would not we think ourselves impudently mocked by him that should tell us, he would first do us an injury, or an affront, and afterward repent him of it and cry us mercy? And is not this the plain sense of every wicked heart, that pretends to any resolution of a future repentance? Besides, what can be more grossly absurd in reason, than for a man to resolve at the present upon the doing of that

which he knows he must, and therefore resolves he will afterward repent of?

2. If true repentance in Scripture sense signifies an amendment or reformation of life, as certainly it doth, what difference is there between resolving never to repent at all, and resolving not to do it till his life is at an end?

3. Whether he that puts off his repentance till his death bed, doth not run the evident hazard of at least an hundred to one never to repent at all? Upon this common and notorious experiment, that not one of an hundred of the sick-bed penitents do prove true penitents, if ever they recover out of their sickness. But as I desire upon these (I think) very weighty considerations, that every soul should hasten his repentance: so will I the end of my present admonition to it: let us therefore labour so to live, as the nearer our time is to die, the better it may be for us. A good man never dies too soon: for others he may, but not for himself. Immature death is but improperly applied to a virtuous life: if we get to heaven when we die, we shall never complain of the shortness of the time of our exile from thence; nay, sure we shall rejoice it was no longer. But if we should be so woefully unhappy as to miss of heaven, we shall have much reason to lament that our life here was so

long: for though the reprobate's punishment cannot be prolonged, because it is eternal, yet it will be much augmented by the many days of his ill-spent life.

Let us be studious to provide with Israel for our transportation into Canaan when we are dead: and to this end, let us wrestle stoutly with our spiritual adversaries, to avoid the curse of sin and death; and *wrestle with God*, as he did, for the blessing of the grace of life, and that in time: so doing we shall be sure to be *Israel's* to prevail with God, who is ever more than willing to yield us the victory, if he could see us strive for it.

We read of many ingenious devices the heathens had to put them in mind of death, as their feasts, and other opportunities of greatest joy; but all was for an heathenish end: namely, to excite them to seize greedily upon the present, and not to lose anything of the present enjoyments of this life, than which they knew no better. St. Paul hath given us their true meanings, in those *evil words*, as he calls them, *corrupting good manners; let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die.* 1 Cor. xv, 32. We cannot here want expedients to mind us of death, to a better purpose; since if we go abroad, in every street we meet with a church-yard full of graves, and within doors we cannot sit or lie many hours without hearing *soul-bells*, as we call them.

We generally dread the thought of dying *extempore*, as one of the greatest infelicities that can befall us: Oh! let us seek to prevent it, by preparing daily for that hour, upon a just and prudent consideration that it draws nigh. I cannot say that we are precisely bound (according to the ordinary advice, as well of heathens as divines, to account every day our last, or in all things so to spend it, as we would think it necessary or fit to do, if we knew, or did positively believe it were so. All purposes, promises, and provisions for to-morrow were then unlawful, because unreasonable; and by this rule, no man should take a journey further than the house of God: but the meaning is, we should so spend every day, as considering it may be the last; and therefore be sure so to act, as if it should prove so, we might neither be afraid nor ashamed to be found so doing.

I know not whether I be strictly bound to all those thoughts, and that mind, whilst I am writing this sermon, which *Seneca* saith he had, whilst he was writing one of his epistles; *Hoc animo tibi hanc Epistolam scribo tanquam cum maximè scribentem mors evocatura sit:** namely, that death should call me away whilst I am

* Sen. Ep. 62.

writing. But so I write; as if I were now writing my last will, in a perfect state of health; that is (though not without hopes of time and opportunity, to express myself better in some other copies hereafter, yet) with present seriousness, and sincerity of intention and desire, so to bequeath my talent, as God may be glorified, and my reader edified; remembering that my own time to die draws nigh, and desiring he may do so too. *Oh! that men were wise, that they would understand this, that they would consider their latter end!* The Lord teach me and thee *to number our days, and to apply our hearts unto wisdom.* Amen.

I have now done with my text: but, as I told you, I have another to take in hand, and ye all know it. But something I must tell you, which perhaps you know not, by way of preface to what is to be spoken concerning that reverend person whose memory we are now to solemnize; namely, that it was a strict charge of his own, given to his son, whom he made his executor, and inserted into his last will, that he should be buried privately, without any solemnity: which order was agreeable to his known singular modesty and humility. And lest we should seem to transgress that command which we have thus made public, I must also tell you, that upon entreaty, his con-

sent was obtained for a sermon to be preached for him after his funeral.

Having then obeyed his first order in the day of his funeral, which was as private as could be, we think we are nevertheless obliged, *justa facere*, to do him some right in the interest of his name : and I heartily wish there had been one appointed that had been better able to do it. But seeing the task is fallen upon me, who must acknowledge my extreme insufficiency for such an office, I think I may, without ambition, take up for a wish the petition that Elisha made to his master Elijah, when he was to be taken away from him ; namely, that a *double portion of the Spirit of my Lord might be upon me* : that is, not that I might have double his gifts, that were too ambitious a wish ; but as I think the prophet meant, and as the same phrase is elsewhere used, that two parts of his spirit, the portion of a first-born son, might be upon me. The Hebrew word for portion in that text signifies properly a *mouth*, * . And to be able to give this holy man his due, no mouth or tongue were so much to be wished as his own.* The world well knows he had a double portion of the gifts of the tongue above his brethren : and it is as well known he made a

* ΜΟΥΣΗΣ ΗΜΙΝ ΣΘΕΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΝΕΙΝΑ ΦΩΝΗΣ ΕΝΕΙΝΟΥ ΕΙΣΩΜΙΑΞΘΕΝ. *Naz. de Basil.*

proportionable improvement thereof, for the service of the Lord and his Church.

Two years together he was chosen rhetorick professor in the University of Cambridge, and performed the office with extraordinary applause.

He was noted for a singular wit from his youth; a most acute rhetorician, and an elegant poet. He understood many tongues; and in the rhetoric of his own, he was second to none that lived in his time. But,

That which I shall further say of this holy man, shall be with reflection upon my text, in a short parallel of him with the patriarch Israel, of whom you have heard. And many things there are wherein they may be specially compared :

First, the significations of the name Israel, which I mentioned, are notably agreeable to this eminent person. Israel, I told you, signifies either *a man seeing God*, or *a right (upright) man of God*, or *one that had power with God like a Prince*. Each of these things were eminently agreeable to this person : first, Israel was a priest, and so was every *Pater-familias* in those times, as is said. We read of his offering sacrifice several times: and a prophet he was too, one of those which the Psalmist speaks of in that known place, (Ps. cv, 15.) *Touch not mine anointed, do my prophets no harm*. You may find him named there in the context: (ver. 10.)

And here in the next chapter but one, you may read his prophetic blessings that he gave to his sons, when the time drew nigh that he was to die. So was our father a priest, and that of the higher order; a seer, a prophet, and a father of the prophets. One that always made it his business to see and search into the things of God, with a zealous diligence, rather than a bold curiosity. He was one that conversed as much with God, and drew as nigh to him in divine meditation, which is the only ordinary way of seeing God in the flesh, as any man of his time. You all know he was a master in Israel, and another manner of one than *Nicodemus*. Ορθοδοξίας πατήρ και Διδασκαλός, as Gregory said of his father; *a father and a master of the orthodox faith*. A great master he was, and one of the first that taught this church the art of divine meditation. Few men of his age have ascended so high upon Jacob's ladder as he did: he was one that with Israel lived and died in a *Goshen* of light in the midst of *Ægyptian* darkness.

Secondly, he was a right upright man too before God, a true *Israelite* indeed, in whom was no guile; מן ישר, *Rectus Dei*, מן שם, as was said of Israel, *Vir antiqua probitate simplicitateq; præditus. Et eruditis pietate, et piis eruditionis laude antecellens, ita secundas doctrinæ ferens, ut pietatis primas obtineret*, as Nazianzen saith of

Basil. Those that were most eminent for learning, he excelled in piety; and those that were most famous for piety, he excelled in learning. This high priest's breast was richly adorned with the glorious *Urim*, and with the more precious jewel of the *Thummim*.

Thirdly, he was one that wrestled with God much, and often in prayer, and prevailed much: and if we be yet capable of the blessing, I hope we shall one day enjoy the fruit of those prayers wherein he wrestled with God for this poor church. We read of Jacob's vows as well as of his visions, (Gen. xxviii, 20.) and it is the first vow that we read of in Scripture: and who hath not read, or heard at least, of this holy man's vows?

Thus the name agrees punctually in each signification.

We will now go on with the parallel of the persons. Israel was a smooth man of body, as himself saith, (Gen. xxxii, 11.) and a man of a plain, even, and modest spirit, as appeared by his scruples that he made about the way that his mother directed him to get his father's blessing. Such an one was our father, a man of a smooth, terse wit, and tongue, and of a calm, gentle, meek, and moderate spirit, as they all know that know anything of him: *πραῦς, αὐργητός; γαλῆνος, το εἶδος, θερμός το πνεῦμα*, as *Nazianzen* saith of *Cæsarius*;

a man of a mild, serene, and calm aspect, (who ever saw it ruffled into any appearance of disorderly passion?) and of a quick and lively spirit. He was not twice a child, though he lived long enough to have been so,) but always one in our Saviour's sense, namely, in humility and innocence: one that much excelled in those dove-like fruits of the Spirit, which St. Paul mentions, (Gal. v, 22.) *love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, meekness, &c.* As loving, and as much beloved, as any man of his order in the three nations. One that got the birthright from heaven, and the blessing from men too, without dissembling for it; whilst other rough *Esaus* were hunting abroad for wild venison, thinking to please their father, he stayed quietly at home, and observing the directions of his mother the Church, went away smooth with the venison. Some strugglings he had with his rougher brethren, whom he did not strive so much to supplant, as to supple with his smooth moderation and humility: and so far he prevailed in this design, as that instead of ill words or knocks, he met with a kiss and respectful embracement from many of them that had been his adversaries, because they envied him the birthright of his order and dignity; and all men honoured the *Doctor*, though some loved not the *Bishop*.

Israel travelled into several countries, and was kindly entertained and respected wherever he came; so did, and so was our father. He travelled with persons of honour into France, Germany, Holland, and Scotland; and God was ever with him, wherever he went, as he was with Israel. Some troubles and perils he met with in his journeys, as Jacob did, when Laban pursued him with one troop, and Esau met him with another. But a kind Providence was ever ready to redeem him; *and God hath always holpen his servant Israel.*

Israel was a shepherd, and a faithful one, that took special care of his flock, (Gen. xxxi, 40.) and great pains night and day in watching over them for twenty years together: and our Israel was a faithful shepherd, that diligently watched over the flocks that his master committed to his charge, and took extraordinary pains in feeding them for above twenty years together. Whilst he was the private pastor first of Halstead in Suffolk, and after of Waltham in Essex, he preached thrice a week in a constant course: yet, as himself witnessed, "*never durst climb up into the pulpit to preach any sermon, whereof he had not before penned every word in the same order wherein he hoped to deliver it; although in his expressions he was no slave to syllables, neither made use of his notes.*"

Nor did his industry either cease, or so much as abate at his preferments. He hath given the world as good an account of his time as any man in it; as one that knew the value of time, and esteemed the loss of it more than a temporal loss, because it hath a necessary influence upon eternity. It is well known in this city how forward he was to preach in any of our churches, till he was first forbidden by men, and at last disabled by God.

And when he could not preach himself as oft and as long as he was able, this learned Gamaliel was not content only, but very diligent to sit at the feet of the youngest of his disciples; as diligent an hearer as he had been a preacher. How oft have we seen him walking alone, like old Jacob, with his staff, to Bethel, the house of God?

Israel was fruitful in children, and so was our father, and that without the polygamy of Israel; being the husband but of one wife, a grave, virtuous matron, with whom he lived forty-nine years. But Israel at last wanted bread for himself and his family: I cannot say this man did so, but how near he came to it, and by what means we all know; but must not complain because he never did. He had not the kindness that Israel had in Egypt, to have any allowance for his maintenance from the lord of the country, yet he

never wanted. He was indeed a rare mirror of patience under all his crosses, which toward his latter end were multiplied upon him. The loss of his estate he seemed insensible of, as if he had parted with all with as good content as Jacob did with a good part of his to pacify his angry brother, having well learned as well to want as to abound. I have heard him oft bewail the spoils of the church, but very rarely did he so much as mention his own losses, *but took joyfully the spoiling of his goods*. When he was laid *among the pots*, that is, saith the Septuagint and the vulgar latin, *inter cleros*, yet was *he as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold*. Ps. lxxviii, 13.

Of late years, and especially the last, he was sorely afflicted with bodily diseases, and bore them all with as much patience, as hath been seen in any flesh, except that of our Saviour's. *We have heard of the patience of Job*, but never saw a fairer copy of it, than was in this man.

Israel lived to be very old, as you may read in the verse before my text, and at last grew so weak, that he was scarce able to rise up upon his bed to bless his children; (Gen. xlviii, 2.) so was it with our father. Methinks I see him yet, as he was upon his bed, how he *strengthened himself* to confirm others that sought it, with his fatherly blessing, as Israel did the sons of Joseph;

and that too with the same good old ceremony which Jacob first used, namely, the laying on of his hands. *His days were few and evil*, in Jacob's comparative sense; and yet many and good, for he died in a *good old age*, full of days, and full of good works: *canus virtutibus, white with virtues*. *He came to his grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season*. Job v, 26. He was crowned with the silver crown of age in his grey hairs, (Prov. xvi, 31.) and now is crowned with the golden crown of immortality.

When his time drew nigh that he must die, he much longed for death, and was ready to bid it welcome, and spake always very kindly of it. It was an odd word of St. Francis when the physicians told him the time of death drew nigh, *Bene veniat, inquit, soror Mors, welcome, my sister death*. The expression of Job is not much unlike, (Job xvii, 14.) *I have said to corruption, thou art my father; to the worm, thou art my mother and my sister*: so did this good man welcome death, as if he had been to embrace a mother or a sister. He took good notice of the approach of death, and set his house in order as Israel did, by distributing the blessings that God had left him to his children. He endeavoured also to prepare others for that change by his last books, and last sermons that he preached, which were all upon

the last things, *Death and Judgment, Heaven and Hell.*

Israel left his children in Egypt when he died, but with a prophetic promise of their return into Canaan: our Israel hath left us, I may not say in bondage, but in a sad condition, and left us without a prophecy, though not without his prayers for our happy return into Canaan. Well, he is gone: *Non nobis ereptus sed periculis*, as Ambrose said of his brother (in that most elegant oration which he made, *De obitu fratris*,) *taken away not so much from us, as from the perils of the times.* It was some comfort to him that he lived not to see the funeral of the church, though he saw it drawing home, almost at last gasp. And if there could be as much sorrow in heaven for the perverseness of sinners, as there is *joy at their conversion*, doubtless this holy man could not yet be at rest. *But Abraham is ignorant of us, and Israel knows us not.* Isa. lxiii, 16. And the more happy is he if he doth not, and I hope we are never the more unhappy, for whether he knows of our state or not, it is piously to be believed, he prays for us, *ὡς οἰμαί*, as Nazianzen said of Basil.

When Israel died, the Egyptians mourned for him: (Gen. 1, 3.) and I am persuaded so do some of the worst of men for our father.

The streights of time both for preparing and delivering this testimony of his life, hath enforced me to pass over the particulars of his preferments, dignities, and honourable employments by his prince; amongst which, that to the Synod of Dort would not else have been forgotten; especially for the great respect he had there from the foreign divines and states. And his excellent moderation shewed in those unhappy disputes, concerning which he afterward drew up such a collection of accorded truths, as was offered to be subscribed by some of the most eminent parties on both sides: which reconciliatory papers then unhappily buried, are very much to be desired, and may be hoped for in time, together with a completer account of his life written by himself. But whatever becomes of them, he was one whose *moderation was known to all men*; and his zeal for an holy peace in the church, is abundantly manifested by those writings of his, which are already extant.

I cannot so much as mention all his virtues, but must not forget so great an one as that of his charity: which above and before all things, as the two great Apostles exhort,* he was careful to put on: besides his spiritual alms of prayers, godly

* Επὶ πάντι, Col. iii, 14. πορ πάντων, 1 Pet. iv, 8.

admonitions, comforts, and holy counsels, whereof he was very liberal.

His bodily alms were constant and bountiful. In the parish where he last lived, he gave a weekly voluntary contribution of money to certain poor widows to his dying day, over and above his imposed rates, wherein he was never spared. And as the *Widow's handful of meal, and her cruise of oil did not waste* by feeding the old prophet; so did this prophet's barrel that was low, and his cruise that was little, not hold out only, but seemed to increase by feeding the widows, as appeared by that liberal addition of alms which he gave by his will to the town where he was born, and to this city where he died.

If ever there were a man that could speak with the *tongues of men and angels*, he was one. But such there are who are, as Justin Martyr calls them, *οὐ μὲν φιλοσοφοί, ἀλλὰ φιλοφροί*, or, as the apostle saith, no better than a *sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal*, being without charity. But our father was one that had learned of St. Paul that same *καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὁδόν*, (1 Cor. xii, 31.) *the more excellent way of charity*, which he also shewed unto others. He was one, that, as St. John exhorts, *loved not in word, or in tongue only, but in deed and in truth*, (1 John iii, 18.) and shewed it plentifully upon all occasions. One that had

Jacob's voice, but could never endure so much as the disguise of Esau's churlish hands.

Four things are yet remaining with us below, of this heavenly saint: his children, his works, his body, and his name. First, his children. I may say of him, as St. Ambrose said of Theodosius the Emperor, *Non totus recessit, reliquit nobis liberos in quibus eum debemus agnoscere, et in quibus eum cernimus et tenemus*, he is not all gone, he hath left us a good portion of himself behind in his sons, in whom we may yet see him, and hold him. I shall not wish any one of them the double portion of their father's spirit, but rather that they may be, as indeed they are, all co-heirs thereof.

For his works, I hope with reverence I may lawfully say of them, as the Psalmist doth of God's, that *they all praise him*, because all men praise them. At least I may say, as the Spirit doth in the Apocalypse, *Blessed is the dead that died in the Lord*, for *he resteth from his labours, and his works follow him*. Blessed is he, because his works, that is, the reward of them, follow him; and we are blessed because they are left behind him. That which Nazianzen said of Basil's works, may truly be said of this man's, *ἐπὶ καὶ τὰ παρεργὰ τε ἀνδρὸς τῶν ποιημένων ἑτέροις πολὺ τιμωτέρα καὶ περιφανέστερα*.

His by-businesses, his *occasional meditations*,

are more precious than the elaborate works of other men.

For his body, that is already laid up in his dormitory, without the honourable ceremony of embalming, which Israel had. Gen. 1, 2. But though he wanted that, and other ceremonies of deserved honour, which his own humility and the envy of the times denied him, yet doth he not want that which the wise man saith *is better than a precious oil or ointment*, (Eccles. vii, 1.) namely, *a good name*. For I may say of this man's name, as the spouse speaks of the name of her beloved, that it is *an ointment poured forth*. Cant. i, 3. An ointment that carrieth with it all the excellencies of a precious oil; that is, besides the rich ingredients wherewith it is substantially compounded; these three accidental qualities too, of a fragrant and far-spreading *odor* or scent, the gentle and pleasing *lævor* or smoothness, the bright shining *nitor* or lustre.

My task at this time hath been to break a small *box of ointment* to pour upon his feet; and I hope there is no body will accuse me of any waste, either of my time or my oil; especially considering both were little. If there should be any murmurers, I hope to find them that will excuse me with this apology, saying, *I have done a good work upon him, I have done what I could, and done it for his burial*. Mark xiv, 8; Matt.

xxvi, 10, 12. And sure we do all well to help to embalm his name, especially since we may do it at his own cost, for he hath provided the spices in his life. When he lived, his lips dropped myrrh, and his pen the oil of calamus and cinnamon; the smell whereof hath filled the house of God with such perfume, as I hope this age, as ill-scented as it is, will never wear out.

His life was so well acted, as, had not his modesty forbidden it, he might have taken his leave of the world, as Augustus did, with *Valete et plaudite*, 'farewell, and speak well of me.

He is now silent, and so must I be, for the time will not allow me to protract my speech. An angel from heaven hath translated the soul of this *angel of the church*, and placed it among the *twenty-four elders*, which St. John saw *about the throne of God*, (Rev. iv, 4.) which good interpreters have taken to be a type of the twenty-four chief priests under the law, and of their analogical successors, the bishops of the christian church, attired with a *white robe* of glory, instead of his earthly rochet; and instead of his crosier, he hath a branch of the peaceful and victorious palm put into his hands; and for his mitre, which fell with the royal crown, (when the time was come that his old master's prophecy was to be fulfilled, *No Bishop, no King*,) he hath a crown of glory set upon his head. A *Pisgah* sight he

often had of this heavenly Canaan, when he was upon his mount of contemplation; but now he is gotten up to the top of the ladder, and seeth the face of God indeed in the true *Peniel*.

Methinks now I hear some of you say with Balaam, *O that I might die the death of the righteous, and that my latter end might be like his!* I shall tell you, in a few words, how that may, and I have done.

Follow the steps of his holy life, and the instructions of his godly books; learn of Israel and of this parallel father, to prize the spiritual birthright, above any present fleshly enjoyments, and to wrestle with God for it in prayer: meditate much and often of heaven and heavenly things, as he did; imitate him in his holy vows, and be careful to pay them: follow, I say, the steps of his faith and charity, and you cannot miss of such an end: *For as many as walk according to this rule, peace shall be upon them, and upon the Israel of God.* AMEN.

EPITAPH

ON THE MONUMENT OF MR. HENRY BRIGHT, IN
WORCESTER CATHEDRAL,

Composed by Doctor Jos. HALL, then Dean of Worcester. *

Mane, Hospes, & lege.
Magister HENRICUS BRIGHT,
celeberrimus Gymnasiarcha,
qui Scholæ Regiæ istic fundatæ
per totos Quadraginta Annos summâ cum
laude præfuit :
Quo non alter magis sedulus fuit scitusve aut dexter
in Latinis, Græcis, Hebraicis,
Litteris feliciter edocendis :
Teste utrâque Academiâ, quam instruxit affatim numerosâ
pube literariâ :
Sed et totidem annis eoque amplius Theologiam
professus,
et hujus Ecclesiæ per septennium Canonicus major,
Sæpissime hic & alibi sacrum Dei Præconem magno cum
zelo & fructu egit :
Vir pius, doctus, integer, frugi, de Republicâ
deque Ecclesiâ optimè meritus,
à laboribus perdiu
pernoctuque ab anno 1562 ad 1626,
strenuè usque extant latis, 4to Martii suaviter requievit
in Domino.

* See Fuller's Worthies of England in Worcestershire.

ANGELUS E CŒLO AD ANGELUM ECCLESİÆ N. AD
CŒLUM TRANSEUNTEM.

Ave Pater Sancte,
Gratis dilecte, gratiâ jam plene,
Dominus tecum, tûq; cum Domino,
Semper fuit, semper es futurus.

Proso-metrica.

Benedictus tu inter viros, inter angelos.

En age, ociûs hanc nostram ascendas alam,
Simûlq; ascendamus hanc scalam *ερανικλμακα* :
Quin et properare jussit expectans Dominus,
Idémq; cupiunt conservi omnes,
Gestientes videre, aventes exoculari.
Uterq; te manet gratulabundus *Adamus*
Et qui perdidit, et qui servavit.

Jamjam aperuit sinum,
Fidus Fidorum Pater *Abraham* :
Brachiisq; extensis adstat *Parallelus Israel*,
Cum charissimo filio *cognomine Josepho*.
Fratrésq; omnes in amplexum ruituri.

In Ascensu.

Quid moraris, quid miraris
Lumina hæc pervia?
Quid Lunam argenteam noctis reginam?
Quid aureum solem diei regem?
In sidera errantia quid errant oculi?
In fixa quid figis Lumina?
Quorsum (post solem) duodena signa pervagaris?
Non est hoc veri nominis, nec numinis Cœlum
Non hæc aula Jovis *Ἀριστογυισ* :
Sed ejusdem camerata cella.

Nec sunt hæc lumina verè coelestia
Sed umbra luminum super-coelestium.

Attolle oculos, aspice *justitiæ solem*,
Suo jam culminantem
Fixo æternoq. meridie.

Hujusq; radiis gloriâ *plenam*,
Formosam lunam verè *lucina*,
Scilicet quæ peperit lucem parentem.

Ecce *Patriarcharum* bis sena signa
Totidemq; *Apostolorum* antitypum Senatum.

Ecce *Saturnum* grandævum *Adamum*:

Jovemq; legiferum *Mosen*:

Martem, bellicosum *Josua*:

Eliam, *Mercurium*, post coelica peracta jussa
Ad coelum impigrè revolantem.

Ecce *Hesperum* solis præcursorem

Johannem Baptistam.

Ecce *Pleiades* Empyreos,

Septem Fratres, stellas Asiaticas:

Ecce agmina minorum syderum,

Variantis magnitudinis,

Omnia tibi lucem præbent Venturo.

Adjunge latus debito choro,

Auge destinatam constellationem,

Sed primum, cœli amicus, induas amictum cœlestem.

Hanc scilicet gloriæ albam,

Pro terreâ direptâ pallâ;

Illam victricem palmam,

Pro extorto pastorali pedo:

Istam coronam sideream,

Pro tenui decussâ cydari.

Vide Arborem vitæ de quâ toties legisti,

Hujus nunc fructum legas,

Et æternum vivas.

J. W. M. A.

UPON THE MUCH-LAMENTED DEATH OF THE
REV. FATHER JOSEPH, LATE LORD
BISHOP OF NORWICH.

OUR Father dead? can any dumb-born son
Forbear to cry, Die, and we are undone?
Ah! could our cries his flying ghost recall,
'T had soon returned to its wonted stall:

But since
From hence

It must; blow high our deep-fetch'd sighs, and land
This high-priz'd treasure on the heav'nly strand.
That's all we can, for without his own skill
Of *tongue* and *fancy*, can't the briskest quill

His worth
Set forth,

Yet cry we must, and though in uncouth tones,
And dreary accents of confused groans,
Tell the mis-deeming world—
What rich embroidery of *wit* and *grace*,
Like sparkling diamonds set in golden case,
Like the pure white and red, in beauty's cheek,
With sweet contention that precedence seek,

Possest
That breast.

How sweet a dresse of *smiling gravity*
Sate on that reverend brow; how solidly
Fraughted with *Gospel treasure* at its home,
That soul's arriv'd like ship from Indies come.
See in that mind a land-skip of all graces
Pourtray'd to life, rank'd in their proper places.

Here *love* and *peace* imbrace, there *meekness*, *sanctity*;
 Below at distance sits *humility*;
 See yonder *charity*, with arms expanded,
 With tender bowels open-handed;
 There *patience* stoops, and bends her shoulders low
 To bear that load the unworthy world will throw
 On wronged *innocence*. Then tap'ring to the sky
 You'll see pure *zeal*, *devotion*, *piety*.
 All these unfucus'd, candid, and serene;
 Not like the modern garb, to serve the scene
 Of ends and interests; mere pageantry,
 To gull such souls as see with half an eye.
 Such stales of virtue's, but a saint-like cheat,
Glasse to his *chrystal*, *glowworms* to his *heat*.
 Was ever soul ravish'd in *meditation*,
 Wound up on high in *contemplation*

Divine,
 Like thine?

Such know the beating of thy pulse whose *traffick*
 Was wholly so *cherubick* and *seraphick*,
 That it evince, 'tis not *hæretical*
 To say, *angels may be corporeal*.
 His *holy life*, a silent *check* to all
 The rout of *vices*, was: his *pen* the *maul*

Of sects
 And smects.

His name did more perfume the church, than gum
 Of *Stacte*, *Onycha*, and *Galbanum*
 Did *Moses' sacred tent*; and certainly
 Whilst *Hall's* remembered, *Bishop* cannot die.
 And that will be, till *books* shall be *calcin'd*,
 With the *elements* above; and all refin'd,
 At the last conflagration——
 Learned *Armagh* * to honour this his day,
 His *Usher* was, and heaven-ward led the way.
 When aged *Durham* † shall remove his station,
 How great, how glorious a *Constellation*

* Abp. Usher.

† Bp. Morton.

In th' orb *empyreal* will they make, *those three*
That will outshine the radiant *Cassiopee*.
But stay: these blundering lines do *wrong the blest*,
Let *Yare* and *Isca* murmur out the rest:
Only our dropping tears shall never stint,
Till on his *marble* they these words imprint:

Maugre the peevish world's complaint,
Here lies a Bishop and a saint.

Whom *Ashby** bred, and *Granta* nurs'd
Whom *Halsted*, and old *Waltham* first
To rous the stupid world from sloth,
Heard thund'ring with a golden mouth,
Whom *Wor'ster* next did dignifie,
And honoured with her *Deanry*:
Whom *Exon* lent a *mitred wreath*,
And *Norwich*, where he ceas'd to breath.

These all with one joint voice do cry,
Death's vain attempt, what doth it mean?
My *Son*, my *Pupil*, *Pastor*, *Dean*,
My *rev'rend Father*, cannot die.

Desflevit H. N. B. D.

* de-la-zouch.

IN OBITUM AMPLISSIMI PATRIS J. H. EPISCOPI
NORVICENSIS.

IAMBI RECTI.

INDULTE cœli tam benigno munere,
Quantis tuorum luctibus refers pedem,
Facunde Præsul! quo domante multiceps
Pecu, profanas ordini intentans sacro
Latè ruinas, concidit; quo vindice,
Censûs secundi Flamen auctus infulâ
Nondum superbit; siquibus distinguere
Humana brutis arma jam cordi fiet;
Mentisq; doctæ si tropæa viribus
Nequam protervis præferant. Olim tuos
Sensit lacertos factio Brownistica:
Antistes ille septicolli culmine,
Superbus olim sensit. Ut tantum cluat
Sagata virtus, neutiquam *toga* minor
Incedis, hinc te duplicis sertû decus,
Oliva, laurus, gloriâ pari beat.
Tricisque præpedita conscientia
Quàm dexter adsis perpetim fatebitur,
Quàm luculentâ nubilam ducas fide,
Cujusq; scripti quæ venusta lumina!
Qualésque nervi! cuncta quàm normaliter
Concinna, queis sunt attributa partibus!
Piâq; suavitate quem non detinent!
Sed quæ Camæna, dulcibus fastigiis
Dignanda cœli, pergat exiles domos
Rectoris alti, spiritus et accolas
Referre tecum? quando penè libera
Mens jam senilis corticem perrumpere,

Cœpit catastæ, et limpidò vèsci æthere,
O quanta pomis indidem mysteria!
At vita qualis sanctitatis! quàm piî
Fœcunda amoris! quàmq; nullis seculi
Exulcerata cladibus, quas ordine
Longo furentes, miles infractus pati!
Lætisque possis impiger cervicibus.
Partes in omnes qui volet te prosequi
Laudum canenti quanta cresceret segès!
Sed nos Galenus.

Instantibus amicis extempore profudit,

J.W. M.D.C.L.

TO MASTER JOSUAH SYLVESTER, OF HIS BARTAS
METAPHRASED.

I DARE confess, of muses more than nine,
Nor list, nor can I envy none but thine.
She, drencht alone in Sion's sacred spring
Her Maker's praise hath sweetly chose to sing,
And reacheth nearest th' angel's notes above;
Nor lists to sing or tales or wars or love.
One while I find her, in her nimble flight,
Cutting the brazen spheres of heaven bright:
Thence, straight she glides, before I be aware
Through the three regions of the liquid air:
Thence rushing downe, through Nature's closet door,
She ransacks all her grandame's secret store;
And diving to the darkness of the deep,
Sees there what wealth the waves in prison keep;
And, what she sees above, below, between,
She shows and sings to others ears and eyne.
'Tis true, thy muse another's steps doth press
The more's her pain, nor is her praise the less.
Freedom gives scope unto the roving thought;
Which, by restraint, is curb'd. Who wonders aught,
That feet unfettered, walken far, or fast?
Which, pent with chains, mote want their wonted haste.
Thou followest Bartasses diviner streine;
And singst his numbers in his native vein.
Bartas was some french angel, girt with bayes
And thou, a Bartas art, in English lays.
Whether is more! me seems (the sooth to sayn)
One Bartas speaks in tongues,—in nations twain.

JOS. HALL.

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Whitefoot's funeral sermon on Bishop Hall, in *Appendix*.
Worcester, battle of, 364.
Wotton, Sir H. 439.

ERRATA.

**Page 193, line 11 from the top, for " manifests," read manifested.
217, *note*, for " Seldon," read Selden.**

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Ref^d. R. H. 16.5.47

